

CAL STATE UNIVERSITY
FULLERTON

C O U R S E O U T L I N E

PROFESSOR CARMEN ESTRADA
714- 773-3731
OFFICE HRS. By Appt.

COMMUNICATION SKILLS
G E - CHIC 102

COURSE GOAL : To develop skills in organizing, analyzing, and expressing thoughts in standard oral and written English.

STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES: As a result of this course the student will be able:

- a) To enhance an understanding of the interdependence of Chicano culture and communication.
- b) To identify ways Chicano rhetoric affects intercultural communication.
- c) To identify motivations for communication variance based on cultural differences.
- d) To improve student's ability to speak and write effectively.
- e) To have increased word vocabulary skills.
- f) To summarize and synthesize information.
- g) To participate in various task assignments designed to improve public speaking.
- h) To practice voice relaxation techniques.
- i) To understand the relationship between culture and education as a vehicle for communication.

Textbooks:

Verderber, CHALLENGE OF EFFECTIVE SPEAKING
McWhorter, COLLEGE READING AND STUDY SKILLS
Funk, WORD MEMORY POWER IN 30 DAYS

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

- 1. Class Attendance
- 2. Mid-term Exam
- 3. Oral Presentation
- 4. Final Exam

CALENDER OF ACTIVITIES

- 2/5 Introduction to course objectives, text and materials.
ASSIGNMENT: Read Chptr. 1- Verderber
Write essay on "Why I Am Taking this Course? "
- 2/12 Distribution of Materials, Manifest Destiny; From Indians to Chicanos; Misspelled Words.
ASSIGNMENT: Read articles for discussion next week.
Prepare for word quiz p. 17 WORD MEMORY, Next week.
- 2/19 Vocabulary quiz - identify and define words.
Lecture: Introduction to Effective Public Speaking.
Discussion of articles in class.
ASSIGNMENT: Bring current events articles on Chicano/Hispanic from periodicals, newspaper, etc. (for next week)
Prepare for QUIZ Word Memory - p.27 (list).
- 2/26 Vocabulary Quiz.
Lecture: " Structure of an Outline"
. Sentence Outline
. Topic Outline
ASSIGNMENT: Prepare for QUIZ Word Memory, Pg. 29.
Prepare outline on current events article.
- 3/5 Vocabulary Quiz. Lecture - " The Topic Sentence ".
Development of the essay.
ASSIGNMENT: Read article, handout, "LA FAMILIA".
Prepare for QUIZ - P. 41.
- 3/12 Vocabulary Quiz.
Lecture / Discussion - Article "LA FAMILIA".
ASSIGNMENT: Prepare Quiz - P. 53.
Read handout, LABYRINTH OF SOLITUDE.
- 3/19 Vocabulary Quiz.
Lecture: "Culture and Symbolism". Discussion on Labyrinth of Solitude.
ASSIGNMENT: Prepare for Mid Term Exam.
Select Topic for Oral Presentation.
- 3/26 ~~MID TERM EXAM~~
- 4/2 Vocabulary Review in class.
Class Oral Presentations.
ASSIGNMENT: Prepare for Vocab Quiz p. 66
- 4/9 Vocabulary Quiz. Oral Presentations.
ASSIGNMENT: Read article: "Politics of Education" Paolo Fraire.
- 4/16 EASTER VACATION
- 4/23 LIBRARY TOUR
- 4/30 Lecture; Politics of Education- Cultural Values in Education.

CALENDER CONTINUED.

5/7 Lecture; Film on Cultural education. Preapre for Final EXam.

5/14 FINAL EXAM

COMMUNICATION SKILLS

QUIZ

I. MATCHING

1. MALIGN I
2. BADGER B
3. RESCIND A
4. FLAUNT D
5. CAVIL F
6. WREAK G
7. BURGEON J
8. INUNDATE E
9. SUBVERT C
10. SUBSTANTIATE H

100

- A. TO REVOKE OR CANCEL.
- B. TORMENT
- C. OVERTHROW
- D. A SWAGGERING MANNER
- E. DELUGE
- F. QUIBBLE OR OBJECT.
- G. INFLICT
- H. TO GIVE EVIDENCE.
- I. TO SPEAK IN A HARMFUL WAY.
- J. PROLIFERATE

II. WRITE A PARAGRAPH. INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING WORDS WITHIN THE PARAGRAPH.

FLAUNT, RESCIND, SUBVERT, SUBSTANTIATE, CAVIL

Tom objected to the way his partner flaunted their successes. If Tom made a suggestion in a business meeting his partner ~~would~~ cavil. If Tom placed an order for a customer his partner would rescind it. Tom was beginning to feel like his partner was purposefully trying to subvert his position. He knew that he would have to come up with some hard evidence to substantiate this claim before he approached his partner with the matter. good

Theme

this paper/presentation is about Mexicans rediscovering Mexican values

- 1) Introduction - Purpose of Paper
- 2) Identifying Mexican Values
 - A) Values vs. Stereotypes
 - B) Seeing Values Beyond the Media Hype
 - C) Some Basic Values
 1. Values within their cultural/historical parameters
 2. Values within the dominant culture.
- 3) A SYNTHESIS OR ANTI-THESIS?

7

'Body' - Conclusion

Incomplete

100 Joe Bustillos

Communication Skills

March 1987

QUIZ

Solstice d
Arid c
Habitat a
ecology b
Precipitate a
Seismic h
Miasma f
Occlude i
Tectonic j
Halcyon e

- ~~a)~~ To bring on hastily or prematurely.
- ~~b)~~ The science of the balance of nature.
- ~~c)~~ Dry, parched without interest.
- ~~d)~~ The longest day of the year and the shortest day of the year.
- ~~e)~~ Region where something normally lives or is found.
- ~~f)~~ A heavy vapor or fog.
- ~~g)~~ Calm and idyllic.
- ~~h)~~ Charecteristic of an earthquake.
- ~~i)~~ To block, shut off.
- ~~j)~~ Pertaining to the earth's crust.

-1-

10

10

10

20

20

20

90

JOE BUSTILLOS

MIDTERM 4/23

- 1 FLAUNT. TO FLAUNT IS TO MAKE AN OSTENTATIOUS "SHOW" OF SOMETHING
- 2 BADGER. TO BADGER IS TO PESTER, BOTHER OR "BUG" SOMEONE.
- 3 HYBRID. A HYBRID IS A NEW FORM THAT IS THE RESULT OF THE COMBINATION OF TWO DIFFERENT FORMS
- 4 CLONE. A CLONE IS A DUPLICATE REPRODUCTION OF A SEPARATE OBJECT.
- 5 BINARY. BINARY IS A THING OR PRINCIPLE CONSISTING OF TWO PARTS OR ELEMENTS.
- 6 NIRVANA. NIRVANA IS THE PLACE OR CONSCIOUSNESS OF BLISS THAT IS THE GOAL OF ALL "GOOD" HINDUS
- 7 ANATHEMA. IF SOMETHING IS "ANATHEMA" IT IS CURSED. TO BE ANATHEMA IS TO BE CURSED.
- 8 SCHISM. A SCHISM IS A DIVISION OF A THING INTO TWO THINGS.
9. PRECIPITATE. PRECIPITATE REFERS TO RAINFALL
10. NEMESIS. A NEMESIS IS ONE'S ENEMY OR ONE'S "UNDOING."

II. THE OUTLINE IS FUNDAMENTAL TO THE SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF AN ESSAY OR ORAL PRESENTATION. AN OUTLINE DEMONSTRATES THE BALANCE & STRUCTURE OF AN ESSAY OR PRESENTATION. AN OUTLINE AIDS IN MAKING SURE THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE ESSAY OR PRESENTATION IS CLEARLY STATED & EXECUTED.

THE TWO TYPES OF OUTLINES ARE THE SENTENCE OUTLINE & THE TOPIC OUTLINE. THE SENTENCE OUTLINE IS TYPIFIED BY A

~~THE~~ STRUCTURE THAT IS CENTERED ON STATEMENT GIVEN IN COMPLETE SENTENCES. THE TOPIC OUTLINE, ~~IF~~ ON THE OTHER HAND, IS BUILT ON A STRUCTURE THAT IS CENTERED ON PHRASES OR FRAGMENTARY STATEMENTS. A SENTENCE OUTLINE IS MORE APPROPRIATE IN A LONG PAPER OR DISSERTATION WHERE IT IS NECESSARY TO "FLESH OUT" IDEAS MORE THOROUGHLY. THE TOPIC OUTLINE IS ADEQUATE FOR A VERY BRIEF PAPER OR ORAL PRESENTATION.

III.

THE VARIABLES OF COMMUNICATION REFER TO THE ELEMENTS INVOLVED IN COMMUNICATION BEGINNING WITH THE THOUGHT OR IDEA & PROCEEDING THROUGH TO THE RECEIVED MESSAGE. THE VARIABLES INCLUDE SOUNDS, GESTURES, VOCABULARY, PHRASEOLOGY, SYNTAX, INFLECTION, THE MEDIUM OF COMMUNICATION (E.G., FACE-TO-FACE, VIA THE TELEPHONE, A WRITTEN MESSAGE), LANGUAGE & CULTURE.

FUNDAMENTAL TO THE DEVELOPMENT & EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNICATION IS CULTURE & LANGUAGE. THE TWO INTERMIX TO CREATE THE UNDERSTOOD PLATFORM UPON WHICH OUR THOUGHTS BECOMES MESSAGES & ARE THEN TRANSMITTED TO ANOTHER HUMAN OR GROUP OF HUMANS. THE LEVEL OF EFFECTIVENESS & CLARITY IS DEPENDENT UPON THE LEVEL OF FLUENCY THAT EITHER THE TRANSMITTER OR RECEIVER OR BOTH POSSESS IN THE CHOSEN MODE OR MEDIUM OF COMMUNICATION.

Source of message / Channel, Receiver, feedback & Noise

20

- 3 -

De Bustillos

IV MANIFEST DESTINY REFERS TO THE EUROPEAN IDEA OR PHILOSOPHY BEHIND THE CONQUEST OR "DEVELOPMENT" OF THE "NEW WORLD" BY THE EUROPEAN SETTLERS. PIVOTAL TO THIS PHILOSOPHY WAS THE IDEA THAT IT WAS "GOD'S WILL" OR A PART OF "DIVINE PROVIDENCE" THAT THE EUROPEANS NOT ONLY ARRIVE IN THE "NEW WORLD" BUT SUCCESSFULLY "MASTER" THE ELEMENTS & THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE LAND. FUELED WITH THIS DOCTRINE THE EUROPEAN SHOWED LITTLE REGARD FOR THE "RIGHTS" OF NATIVES OR THEIR WAY OF LIFE.

WHILE THE CONCEPT HAD ITS ROOTS IN RELIGIOUS THINKING COMMON DURING THE 16th CENTURY (& ONWARDS) THE MORE SECULAR THOUGHTS GENERATED BY SOCIAL DARWINISM POWERFULLY FUELED THE PUSH ~~FOR~~ IN ~~NORTHERN~~ NORTH AMERICA FOR "AMERICANS" TO SETTLE THE TERRITORY FROM THE APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN. THIS GREAT PUSH SPELLED THE END OF INDIAN FREE EXPRESSION OF HIS CULTURE.

IN TERMS OF US INSTITUTIONS THE RACISM BEHIND SUCH A PHILOSOPHY CATERED TO THE INTERESTS OF EUROPEAN-AMERICANS. LEGALLY & CULTURALLY, THE EUROPEAN-AMERICAN WAS THE ONLY INHABITANT OF THE LAND WITH RIGHTS. WHILE ~~DEVELOPING~~ DEVELOPING PRINCIPLES ABOUT "ONE NATION UNDER GOD" THE EUROPEAN-AMERICANS FAILED TO EXPLAIN THAT THE "ONE NATION" REFERRED TO THE ANGLO CULTURE. NO WHERE IS THIS SOCIAL FALACY SO CLEARLY EXPRESSED AS HERE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA WHERE THE MEXICAN CULTURE IS THOUGHT TO BE ~~BE~~ OF "RECENT" INTRODUCTION.

Very good

10

IV.

IN DISCUSSING THE CHICANO FAMILY THE AUTHOR BEGINS BY POINTING OUT THAT MOST (IF NOT ALL) STUDIES CONDUCTED ON THE CHICANO FAMILY WERE DONE USING A PATHOLOGICAL PARADIGM. THE MAJOR QUESTION THAT THESE STUDIES BEGAN WITH WAS "WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE CHICANO FAMILY." WHAT CAN BE GAINED FROM SUCH STUDIES, AS WITH MOST ETIC RESEARCH, IS AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE RESEARCHER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD HIS SUBJECT. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY NOT GOOD ENOUGH.

THE AUTHOR THEN DISCUSSES VARIOUS STEREOTYPE CATEGORIES GENERALLY DISCUSSED IN RESEARCH ON CHICANO FAMILIES. "MACHISMO," INTERFAITH MARRIAGE, ECONOMIC STRATIFICATION ARE SOME OF THE TOPICS HE ADDRESSES. POINT BY POINT, THE AUTHOR SHOWS THAT THE CHICANO CULTURE, OF WHICH THE CHICANO FAMILY IS THE CENTER, IS A DYNAMIC HETEROGENEOUS PHENOMENON.

20

VI

OCTAVIO PAZ PRESENTS A PASSIONATE PORTRAYAL OF THE ABILITY BEHIND THE PERCEIVED INABILITY OF THE MEXICAN PEOPLE TO EXPOSE THEMSELVES. BEGINNING WITH THE IMAGE OF THE CONQUERED EMASCULATED MALE & WEAVING HIS WAY THROUGH TO A DEPICTION OF THE RAVAGED FEMALE, PAZ WHISPERS WITH A SHOUT THAT THESE IMAGES HAVE FOULED THE CONQUERORS INTO NOT RECOGNIZING THAT THEY ARE IMAGES OF DEFIANCE.

THE SYMBOLISM REFERS TO THE ATTACHMENT & REVERENCE THAT THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE HAVE FOR THE LAND. BECAUSE THE LAND IS

JOE BOSCH'S

THE MOTHER OF THE LAND WILL ALWAYS BE THE SUPPOSED
CONQUERED PEOPLE WILL ALSO ALWAYS BE A PEOPLE.

"Molly is quite a frightening
or ignorant - full stride."
Richard Armour

Chenier Index 1967...

HAPI → Hispanic Amer. Perio. Index

8⁰⁰ - Francisco Garcia -

Chenier Clipping Service.

773-2537

Eric → Bd does.

(Index in work it?
on 2nd floor)

govt does - Calif/Intern. -
2nd floor

US govt - 5th floor

Indotrak

Computer - business/general readership.

Search Service - Eric #20⁰⁰

Waverly 300-56⁰⁰ (30¢ purchase)

Statistical Abstracts.

American Statistics Index - govt learning
location/subject

1970's

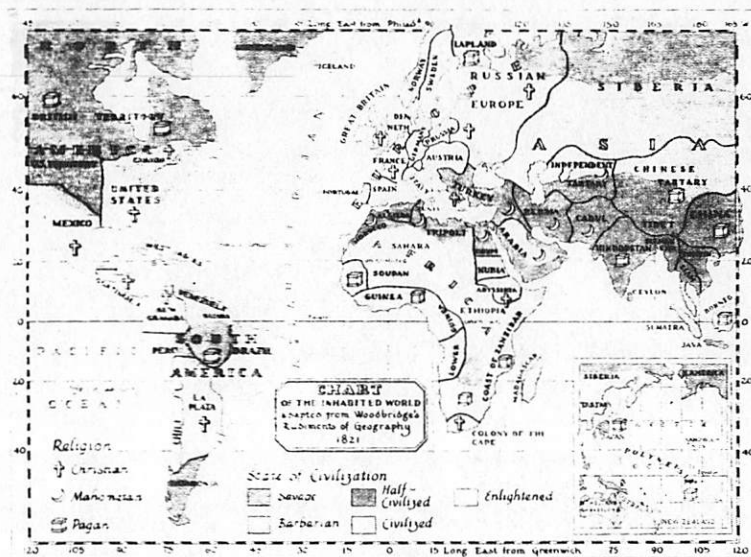
A WORKING DEFINITION OF RACISM

1. Human beings are members of the same species. The term "racism" is useful as a shorthand way of categorizing the systematic mistreatment experienced by people of color and Third world people both in the United States and in many other parts of the world. But this term should not mislead us into supposing that human beings belong to biologically different species. In this sense we all belong to one race, the human race.
2. The systematic nature of the mistreatment experienced by people of color is a result of institutionalized inequalities in the social structure. Racism is one consequence of a self-perpetuating imbalance in economic, political and social power. This imbalance consistently favors members of some ethnic and cultural groups at the expense of other groups. The consequences of this imbalance pervade all aspects of the social system and affect all facets of people's lives.
3. At its most extreme, systematic mistreatment takes the form of physical violence but it occurs in many other forms as well. Pervasive invalidation, the denial or non-recognition of the full humanity of persons of color also constitutes the mistreatment categorized as racism. Putting the matter in these terms may clear up the confusion which is generated by thinking of racism as a matter of treating people of color "differently". If we examine the facts, we will see that what is often called "different treatment" is in reality "inhuman treatment", i.e., treatment which denies the humanity of the individual person.
4. The systematic mistreatment of any group of people generates misinformation about them which in turn becomes the "explanation" of or justification for continued mistreatment. Racism exists as a whole series of attitudes, assumptions, feelings and beliefs about people of color and their cultures which are a mixture of misinformation and ignorance. Just as "the systematic mistreatment of people of color" means "inhuman treatment", so "misinformation about people of color" designates beliefs and assumptions that in any way imply that people of color are less than fully human. I will call these beliefs and attitudes "impacted misinformation" - by which I mean that these ideas are glued together with painful emotion and held in place by frozen memories of distressing experiences.
5. Because misinformation about people of color functions as the justification for their continued mistreatment it becomes socially empowered or sanctioned misinformation. It is recycled through the society as a form of conditioning that affects everyone. In this way misinformation about people of color becomes a part of everyone's "ordinary" assumptions.
6. For purposes of clarity it is helpful to use the term "internalized racism" or "internalized oppression" to designate the misinformation that people of color may have about themselves and their cultures. The purpose of this term is to point out that this misinformation is a consequence of the mistreatment experienced by people of color. It is not an inherent feature or product of their culture.

7. The term "reverse racism" is often used to characterize either the negative attitudes or misinformation that peoples of color may have about individuals from white ethnic groups. This term is less than helpful because it tends to obscure the difference between socially empowered misinformation (see point 5) and other sorts of misinformation.
8. Racism operates as a strategy of divide and conquer. It helps to perpetuate a social system in which some people are consistently "haves" and others are consistently "have nots". While "the haves" receive certain material benefits from this situation, the long range effects of racism short change everyone. Racism sets groups of people against each other and makes it difficult for us to perceive our common interests as human beings. Racism makes us forget that we all need and are entitled to good health care, stimulating education, and challenging work. Racism limits our horizons to what presently exists; it makes us suppose that current injustices are "natural" or at best inevitable. "Someone has to be unemployed; someone has to go hungry." Most importantly, racism distorts our perceptions of the possibilities for change; it makes us abandon our visions of solidarity, it robs us of our dreams of community.

Map 11-C: An American View of the World in the 1820s

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"Maps are one way in which a society transmits its view of the world from one generation to the next.... this map, adapted from the original, appeared in a *School Atlas to Accompany Woodbridge's Rudiments of Geography*, first published in Hartford 'in the forty-sixth year of the Independence of the United States of America.'"

April 1987

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March 1987

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May 1987

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31						

Maps and excerpts used to illustrate the 1987 *America: Past and Present* calendar are drawn from the supplementary transparency program, "American History Through Maps," and accompanying instructional outlines, prepared by Gerald A. Danzer, University of Illinois at Chicago.

CHAPTER THREE



THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION CULTURE POWER AND LIBERATION PAULO FREIRE

Peasants and Their Reading Texts

To change the world through work, to "proclaim" the world, to express it, and to express oneself are the unique qualities of human beings. Education at any level will be more rewarding if it stimulates the development of this radical, human need for expression.

This is exactly what "banking education" (as I sometimes call it) does not do. In banking education an educator replaces self-expression with a "deposit" that a student is expected to "capitalize." The more efficiently he does this, the better educated he is considered.

In adult literacy, as in postliteracy, mastering oral and written language constitutes one dimension of the process of being expressive. Learning to read and write, then, won't have any meaning if it's done through a purely mechanical repetition of syllables.

This learning process is valid only when the learner begins si-

multaneously to perceive the deep structure of language along with mastering the mechanics of vocabulary. When she or he begins to perceive the close relationship between language-thought and reality in her or his own transformation, she or he will see the need for new forms of comprehension and, also, expression.

Such is the case with agrarian reform. Once the latifundium (large estate) system is transformed into *asentamiento* (individual settlements for the former tenants of the large estates), one would expect new forms of expression and of thought-language.

In establishing these settlements, words and whole phrases that used to incorporate cultural constellations and world views typical of the latifundium system tend to lose their original force.

"Master. Yes, master." "What can I do if I am only a peasant?" "Speak and we will follow." "If the master said it, it must be true." "Do you know whom you are talking to?" These words and phrases are incompatible with the concept of the *asentamiento*, since this is a system that democratizes itself. If along with these changes a means of education could be developed to further critical understanding of the political and economic change that has taken place—and has fundamentally transformed work habits, as well—this education would also help establish a new thought-language.

Let it be enough to underscore the idea of the relation between thought-language and social structure, so that adult literacy and post-literacy might have distinct meanings.

The Role of Educators

Mindful of these relationships, educators should pay great attention to selecting generative words when writing reading texts.¹ These texts should address men and women in the context of their transformation. These texts can't be just a description of the new reality, or a mere retelling of a paternalistic theme. One must consider content, form, the potential for other uses, and increasing complexity when developing these texts.

Their objective shouldn't be to describe something to be memorized. Quite the contrary, they should "problematize" situations, present the challenge of reality that the learners confront everyday. These texts must embody a challenge in themselves and as such they should be regarded dialectically by the learners and the educator so that they can delve standing of their world.

deeply into the texts' meaning. Texts, of course, should never be reduced to "rhymes" that put one to sleep instead of rousing critical consciousness. Rather than follow typical routines, the "reading classes" should be actual reading seminars with constant opportunity to establish the relation between a passage of a text under discussion and various aspects of the real world of the *asentamiento*.

A word, an affirmation followed up in the text that's being analyzed, can spark a viable discussion around the core issues of the *asentamiento*: adjusting to new conditions, health problems, and the need to develop effective methods of responding to new challenges.

All this requires not only rigorous conviction from base educators but also ongoing evaluation of their own work.

Evaluation, that is, and not inspection. Through inspection, educators just become objects of vigilance by a central organization. Through evaluation, everyone is a subject along with the central organization in the act of criticism and establishing distance from the work.

In understanding the process in this way, evaluation is not an act by which educator A evaluates educator B. It's an act by which educators A and B together evaluate an experience, its development, and the obstacles one confronts along with any mistakes or errors. Thus, evaluation has a dialectical character.

After establishing a sense of distance from action realized, or action that's being realized, the evaluators can examine it. Then, many things not seen in the actual process become obvious.

In a sense, instead of a fiscal tool, evaluation is the presentation of action as problem posing.

It's essential that members of the evaluating organization deeply believe that they have as much to learn from educators directly linked to popular bases as those who study at the bases. Without this attitude, the evaluators from an external organization will never admit to any gap between their view of reality and reality.

If something doesn't go well, it's because of the educators at the base, never the result of a fault in the theory of the evaluators from outside. By believing they possess the truth, the evaluators act out their infallibility. And with such a hypothesis, when they evaluate, they inspect.

Accordingly, the more bureaucratic the evaluators are, not just from an administrative point of view but above all from an intellectual view, the narrower and more inspectionlike the evaluators from outside will be. Conversely, the more open and accessible to creativity they are,

the more antidogmatic, and the more evaluative (in the sense here described) they will be.

In addition to the texts developed by outside educators, teachers absolutely must take advantage of the texts written by peasants. Gradually, these should increase in number. But this doesn't mean that outside educators should stop writing texts or stop using texts prepared by specialists (like rural economists or health specialists).

Actually, educators should take advantage of all opportunities to stimulate peasants, even by sharing their own views, doubts, and criticisms.

During a discussion of a problematical situation—like codification—educators should ask peasants to write down their reactions—a simple phrase or whatever—first on the blackboard, and then, on a sheet of paper.

These two periods of writing have distinct objectives. The goal of the first period is to propose a group discussion around the ideas written by one of their peers. In order for the experience to be reinforced, the author should coordinate the discussion.

The purpose of the second period, during which the learner writes his or her thoughts on a sheet of paper, is to develop material for later use in an anthology of peasants' texts. This anthology should be organized jointly by outside educators, base educators, and some peasants as well. Once the texts are selected and classified by themes, the educators could write individual comments, simple and problem posing in character. Another way to collect peasant discourse and convert it into reading texts is to tape-record discussions among groups of peasants.

The "codification" that peasants have in front of them is not a mere visual aid, one that the educator uses to "conduct" a better class.² The codification, to the contrary, is an object of knowledge that, in mediating between the educator and students, allows its own unveiling to take place.

By representing an aspect of the peasants' concrete reality, the codification contains the generative word that refers to the codification or to some of its elements.

While participating with the educator in "decodifying" a codification, peasants analyze their reality and in their discourse they express levels of seeing themselves relative to an objective situation.³ They reveal the ideological conditioning to which they were subjected in the "culture of silence" and in the latifundium system.

For all of us who have participated in projects like this, experience

has shown the significance and the richness of illiterates' language in analyzing their reality as depicted in the codification. From whatever angle we address it—be it form or content—this significance and richness involve a linguistic analysis that in turn includes ideology and politics.

This material offers educators a number of possibilities that shouldn't be overlooked. Suggestions we'll make about such possibilities will doubtlessly challenge educators to offer others.

Even before debates on the codifications are transcribed, the first application of this material could be to set up evaluation seminars during which educators could listen to the tapes with one another and discuss their behavior during the decodification process. In the context of the evaluation seminar, the educators would establish distance from their previous experience, gaining insight into their accomplishments and their mistakes. In addition, it would be essential for educators working in area A to listen to tapes of discussions from area B and vice versa.

Similar efforts could be made at the level of illiterate learners. Peasants from area A could listen to and discuss the tape recordings of their peers from area B decodifying the same codifications that they also had codified and vice versa.

An effort such as this would help both learners and educators overcome what I usually call the focalist vision of reality and gain an understanding of the totality.

The Role of Specialists

It is equally crucial for educators to motivate specialists involved in different activities crucial to the Third World—the agronomists, agriculturists, public health officials, cooperative administrators, veterinarians—to analyze the peasants' discourse, particularly in seminars where, we repeat, they would express how they see themselves in their associations with the world.

It's important that technicians overcome the distorted vision of their specialty, which transforms specialization into specialism, brutally forcing them into a narrow view of problems.

Agronomists, agriculturists, public health officials, cooperative administrators, literacy educators—we all have a lot to learn from peasants, and if we refuse to do so, we can't teach them anything.

Attempting to understand peasants' discourse will be a decisive step in overcoming that narrow view of problems typical of the specialist.

It is also possible to take advantage of these decodification tapes by discussing them with the same peasants and motivating them to dramatize the conditions under which they have lived and which they narrated in their discussions.

The word *struggle*, for instance, aroused lively discussion among various groups at different *asentamientos*. Peasants talked about what acquiring a deeper knowledge meant for them, specifically, the struggle to obtain the right to the land. In these discussions they related a little of their history not found in conventional textbooks. To dramatize these facts not only stimulates peasants' self-expression but also develops their political consciousness.

We can imagine the political-pedagogical reach this peasant discourse will have when these tapes begin to cover all areas of agrarian reform in Third World countries. This interchange could also be stimulated through a radio program run by the relevant government agency. This type of program might begin by broadcasting some of the taped debates, followed by commentaries in simple language by several educators.

There is something else that analysis of this discourse can provide: awareness of a series of issues relevant to the peasant communities that together constitute a theme that can be treated interdisciplinarily and can serve as a base for planning the educational content of postliteracy programs.

In thinking about what comes after literacy, why does one always think about a primary school program as an appropriate follow-up? It's as if adult literacy, whether fast paced or slow, were a necessary "treatment" to be administered, so that afterward one can go through the conventional primary school monotony. For this very reason, an adult literacy that breaks the traditional pattern must not extend into a post-literacy phase that negates the earlier progress.

The means of production must be linked to literacy, as is postliteracy to the *asentamiento*; so that literacy becomes an act, not just a transference, of knowledge. Using their concrete reality as a point of departure, peasants should find in their educational content the possibility of acquiring a knowledge of things and facts at an increasingly sophisticated level, and of seeing the reasons behind these facts.

Accordingly, supported by their experience, peasants should find in their postliteracy study in the *asentamiento* a more scientific understanding of their work and their reality.

Analysis of the taped decodifications sheds light on the basic areas of concern that can be expanded into learning units in various fields: agriculture, health, mathematics, ecology, geography, history, economics, and so on. The important thing is that each of these studies always be conducted in keeping with the concrete reality and experience of the peasants.

Finally, when the tape-recorded decodifications are transcribed, educators and peasant leaders should organize books and texts as peasant anthologies. These could be expanded by the inclusion of other texts written by educators and specialists, as we suggested in the first part of the chapter.

As with the tape recordings, these books should be shared with groups from other areas.

In studying their own text or the text of their peers from other areas, peasants would be studying discourse that evolved from the decodification of a theme.

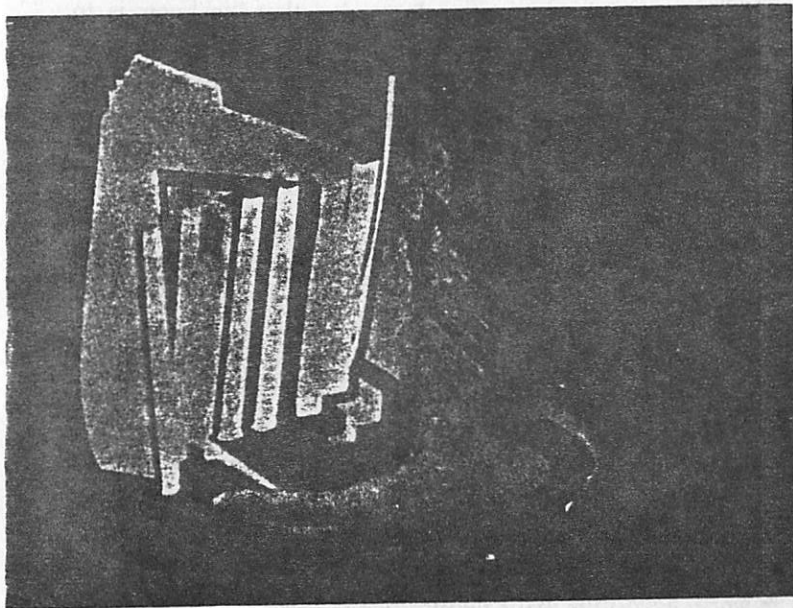
After discussing, not merely reading, the previous discourse, they would criticize this discourse and create a new one, also to be tape-recorded. The discourse about the previous discourse, which involves knowledge of previous knowledge, would give rise to a new text, a second reading book proportionately richer, more critical, more pluralistic in its theme.

In this manner, one would be seriously attempting to develop the peasants' self-expression so that it can be critically introduced into the real world of the peasants' environment. This is a critical process through which peasants would more quickly gain a clear understanding that a particular system or way of living is the equivalent of a particular form of thought-language.

NOTES

1. For a definition of the term *generative word*, see chap.6, n.2.
2. For a definition of the term *codification*, see chap.6, n.14.
3. For a definition of the term *decodification*, see chap.6 n.15.

CHAPTER SIX



THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION CULTURE POWER AND LIBERATION PAULO FREIRE

The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom*

Every Educational Practice Implies a Concept of Man and the World

Experience teaches us not to assume that the obvious is clearly understood.¹ So it is with the truism with which we begin: All educational practice implies a theoretical stance on the educator's part. This stance in turn implies—sometimes more, sometimes less explicitly—an interpretation of man and the world. It could not be otherwise. The process of men's orientation in the world involves not just the association of sense images, as for animals. It involves, above all, thought-language,

*This chapter was translated by Loretta Slover

that is, the possibility of the act of knowing through his praxis, by which man transforms reality. For man, this process of orientation in the world can be understood neither as a purely subjective event, nor as an objective or mechanistic one, but only as an event in which subjectivity and objectivity are united. Orientation in the world, so understood, places the question of the purposes of action at the level of critical perception of reality.

If, for animals, orientation in the world means adaptation to the world, for man it means humanizing the world by transforming it. For animals there is no historical sense, no options or values in their orientation in the world; for man there is both an historical and a value dimension. Men have the sense of "project," in contrast to the instinctive routines of animals.

The action of men without objectives, whether the objectives are right or wrong, mythical or demythologized, naive or critical, is not praxis, though it may be orientation in the world. And not being praxis, it is action ignorant both of its own process and of its aim. The interrelation of the awareness of aim and of process is the basis for planning action, which implies methods, objectives, and value options.

Teaching adults to read and write must be seen, analyzed, and understood in this way. The critical analyst will discover, in the methods and texts used by educators and students, practical value options that betray a philosophy of man, well or poorly outlined, coherent or incoherent. Only someone with a mechanistic mentality, which Marx would call grossly materialistic, could reduce adult literacy learning to a purely technical action. Such a naive approach would be incapable of perceiving that technique itself as an instrument of men in their orientation in the world is not neutral. We shall try, however, to prove by analysis the self-evidence of our statement.

The Illiterate as the Empty Man

Let us consider the case of primers used as the basic texts for teaching adults to read and write. Let us further propose two distinct types: a poorly done primer and a good one, according to the genre's own criteria. Let us even suppose that the author of the good primer based the selection of its generative words on a prior knowledge of which words have the greatest resonance for the learner (a practice not commonly found, though it does exist).²

Doubtlessly, such an author is already far beyond the colleague who composes his primer with words he himself chooses in his own library. Both authors, however, are identical in a fundamental way. In each case they themselves decompose the given generative words and from the syllables create new words. With these words, in turn, the authors form simple sentences and, little by little, small stories, the so-called reading lessons.

Let us say that the author of the second primer, going one step further, suggests that the teachers who use it initiate discussions about one or another word, sentence, or text with their students.

After considering either of these hypothetical cases, we may legitimately conclude that there is an implicit concept of man in the primer's method and content, whether it is recognized by the authors or not. This concept can be reconstructed from various angles. We begin with the fact, inherent in the idea and use of the primer, that it is the teacher who chooses the words and proposes them to the learner. Insofar as the primer is the mediating object between the teacher and students, and the students are to be "filled" with words the teachers have chosen, one can easily detect a first important dimension of the image of man that here begins to emerge. It is the profile of a man whose consciousness is "spatialized," and must be "filled" or "fed" in order to know. This same conception led Sartre, criticizing the notion that "to know is to eat," to exclaim, "*O philosophie alimentaire!*"³

This "nutritionist" concept of knowledge, so common in current educational practice, is found very clearly in the primer.⁴ Illiterates are considered "undernourished," not in the literal sense in which many of them really are, but because they lack the "bread of the spirit." Consistent with the concept of knowledge as food, illiteracy is conceived of as a "poison herb," intoxicating and debilitating persons who cannot read or write. Thus, much is said about the "eradication" of illiteracy to cure the disease.⁵ In this way, deprived of their character as linguistic signs constitutive of man's thought-language, words are transformed into mere "deposits of vocabulary"—the bread of the spirit that the illiterates are to "eat" and "digest."

This "nutritionist" view of knowledge perhaps also explains the humanitarian character of certain Third World adult literacy campaigns. If millions of men are illiterate, "starving for letters," "thirsty for words," the word must be *brought* to them to save them from "hunger" and "thirst." The word, according to the naturalistic concept of consciousness implicit in the primer, must be "deposited," not born of the creative

effort of the learners. As understood in this concept, man is a passive being, the object of the process of learning to read and write, and not its subject. As an object his task is to "study" the so-called reading lessons, which in fact are almost completely alienating and alienated, having so little, if anything, to do with the student's sociocultural reality.⁶

It would be a truly interesting study to analyze the reading texts being used in private or official adult literacy campaigns in rural and urban areas of Third World countries. It would not be unusual to find among such texts sentences and readings like the following random samples:⁷

A asa é da ave—"The wing is of the bird."

Eva viu a uva—"Eva saw the grape."

O galo canta—"The cock crows."

O cachorro ladra—"The dog barks."

Maria gosta dos animais—"Mary likes animals."

João cuida das árvores—"John takes care of the trees."

O pai de Carlinhos se chama António. Carlinhos é um bom menino, bem comportado e estudioso—"Charles's father's name is Antonio. Charles is a good, well-behaved, and studious boy."

*Ada deu o dedo ao urubu? Duvido, Ada deu o dedo a arara. . . .*⁸

Se você trabalha com martelo e prego, tenha cuidado para não furar o dedo—"If you hammer a nail, be careful not to smash your finger."

Peter did not know how to read. Peter was ashamed. One day, Peter went to school and registered for a night course. Peter's teacher was very good. Peter knows how to read now. Look at Peter's face. [These lessons are generally illustrated.] Peter is smiling. He is a happy man. He already has a good job. Everyone ought to follow his example.

In saying that Peter is smiling because he knows how to read, that he is happy because he now has a good job, and that he is an example for all to follow, the authors establish a relationship between knowing how to read and getting good jobs that, in fact, cannot be borne out. This naiveté reveals, at least, a failure to perceive the structure not only of illiteracy but of social phenomena in general. Such an approach may admit that these phenomena exist, but it cannot perceive their relationship to the structure of the society in which they are found. It is as if these phenomena were mythical, above and beyond concrete situations, or the results of the intrinsic inferiority of a certain class of men. Unable to grasp contemporary illiteracy as a typical manifestation of the "culture of silence," directly related to underdeveloped structures, this approach cannot offer an objective, critical response to the challenge of illiteracy. Merely teaching men to read and write does not work miracles; if there

are not enough jobs for men able to work, teaching more men to read and write will not create them.

One of these readers presents among its lessons the following two texts on consecutive pages without relating them. The first is about May 1, the Labor Day holiday, on which workers commemorate their struggles. It does not say how or where these are commemorated, or what the nature of the historical conflict was. The main theme of the second lesson is holidays. It says that "on these days people ought to go to the beach to swim and sunbathe. . . ." Therefore, if May 1 is a holiday, and if on holidays people should go to the beach, the conclusion is that the workers should go swimming on Labor Day, instead of meeting with their unions in the public squares to discuss their problems.

Analysis of these texts reveals, then, a simplistic vision of men, of their world, of the relationship between the two, and of the literacy process that unfolds in that world.

A asa é da ave, Eva viu a uva, O galo canta, and O cachorro ladra are linguistic contexts that, when mechanically memorized and repeated, are deprived of their authentic dimension as thought-language in dynamic interplay with reality. Thus impoverished, they are not authentic expressions of the world.

Their authors do not recognize in the poor classes the ability to know and even create the texts that would express their own thought-language at the level of their perception of the world. The authors repeat with the texts what they do with the words, that is, they introduce them into the learners' consciousness as if it were empty space—once more, the nutritionist concept of knowledge.

The Illiterate as the Marginal Man

Still more, the astructural perception of illiteracy revealed in these texts exposes the other false view of illiterates as marginal men.⁹ Those who consider them marginal must, nevertheless, recognize the existence of a reality to which they are marginal—not only physical space, but historical, social, cultural, and economic realities—that is, the structural dimension of reality. In this way, illiterates have to be recognized as beings "outside of," "marginal to" something, since it is impossible to be marginal to nothing. But being "outside of" or "marginal to" necessarily implies a movement of the one said to be marginal from the center, where he was, to the periphery. This movement, which is

an action, presupposes in turn not only an agent but also his reasons. Admitting the existence of men "outside of" or "marginal to" structural reality, we may legitimately ask: who is the author of this movement from the center of the structure to its margin? Do so-called marginal men, among them the illiterates, make the decision to move out to the periphery of society? If so, marginality is an option with all that it involves: hunger, sickness, rickets, pain, mental deficiencies, living death, crime, promiscuity, despair, the impossibility of being. In fact, however, it is difficult to accept that 40 percent of Brazil's population, almost 90 percent of Haiti's, 60 percent of Bolivia's, about 40 percent of Peru's, more than 30 percent of Mexico's and Venezuela's, and about 70 percent of Guatemala's would have made the tragic *choice* of their own marginality as illiterates.¹⁰ If, then, marginality is not by choice, marginal man has been expelled from and kept outside of the social system and is therefore the object of violence.

In fact, however, the social structure as a whole does not "expel," nor is marginal man a "being outside of." He is, on the contrary, a "being inside of," within the social structure, and in a dependent relationship to those whom we call falsely autonomous beings, inauthentic "beings for themselves."

A less rigorous approach, one more simplistic, less critical, more technicist, would say that it was unnecessary to reflect on what it would consider unimportant questions such as illiteracy and teaching adults to read and write. Such an approach might even add that the discussion of the concept of marginality is an unnecessary academic exercise. In fact, however, it is not so. In accepting the illiterate as a person who exists on the fringe of society, we are led to envision him as a sort of "sick man," for whom literacy would be the "medicine" to cure him, enabling him to "return" to the "healthy" structure from which "he has become separated." Educators would be benevolent counselors, scouring the outskirts of the city for the stubborn illiterates, runaways from the good life, to restore them to the forsaken bosom of happiness by giving them the gift of the word.

In the light of such a concept—unfortunately, all too widespread—literacy programs can never be efforts toward freedom; they will never question the very reality that deprives men of the right to speak up—not only illiterates but all those who are treated as objects in a dependent relationship. These men, illiterate or not, are in fact not marginal. What we said before bears repeating: They are not "beings outside of"; they are "beings for another." Therefore the solution to their problem is to

become, not "beings inside of," but men freeing themselves; for, in reality, they are not marginal to the structure, but oppressed men within it. Alienated men, they cannot overcome their dependency by "incorporation" into the very structure responsible for their dependency. There is no other road to humanization—theirs as well as everyone else's—other than authentic transformation of the dehumanizing structure.

From this last point of view, the illiterate is no longer a person living on the fringe of society, a marginal man, but rather a representative of the dominated strata of society, in conscious or unconscious opposition to those who, in the same structure, treat him as a thing. Thus, also, teaching men to read and write is no longer an inconsequential matter of *ba, be, bi, bo, bu*, of memorizing an alienated word, but a difficult apprenticeship in naming the world.

In the first hypothesis, interpreting illiterates as men marginal to society; the literacy process reinforces the mythicization of reality by keeping it opaque and by dulling the "empty consciousness" of the learner with innumerable alienating words and phrases. By contrast, in the second hypothesis, viewing illiterates as men oppressed within the system, the literacy process, as cultural action for freedom, is an act of knowing in which the learner assumes the role of knowing subject in dialogue with the educator. For this very reason, it is a courageous endeavor to demythologize reality, a process through which men who had previously been submerged in reality begin to emerge in order to reinsert themselves into it with critical awareness.

Therefore the educator must strive for an ever greater clarity of what, at times without his conscious knowledge, illumines the path of his action. Only in this way will he truly be able to assume the role of one of the subjects of this action and remain consistent in the process.

The Adult Literacy Process as an Act of Knowing

To be an act of knowing, the adult literacy process demands among teachers and students a relationship of authentic dialogue. True dialogue unites subjects together in the cognition of a knowable object, which mediates between them.

If learning to read and write is to constitute an act of knowing, the learners must assume from the beginning the role of creative subjects.

It is not a matter of memorizing and repeating given syllables, words, and phrases, but rather of reflecting critically on the process of reading and writing itself, and on the profound significance of language.

Insofar as language is impossible without thought, and language and thought are impossible without the world to which they refer, the human word is more than mere vocabulary—it is word-and-action. The cognitive dimensions of the literacy process must include the relationships of men with their world. These relationships are the source of the dialectic between the products men achieve in transforming the world and the conditioning these products in turn exercise on men.

Learning to read and write ought to be an opportunity for men to know what *speaking the word* really means: a human act implying reflection and action. As such it is a primordial human right and not the privilege of a few.¹¹ Speaking the word is not a true act if it is not at the same time associated with the right of self-expression and world-expression, of creating and re-creating, of deciding and choosing and ultimately participating in society's historical process.

In the culture of silence the masses are mute, that is, they are prohibited from creatively taking part in the transformations of their society and therefore prohibited from being. Even if they can occasionally read and write because they were "taught" in humanitarian—but not humanist—literacy campaigns, they are nevertheless alienated from the power responsible for their silence.

Illiterates know they are concrete men. They know that they do things. What they do not know in the culture of silence—in which they are ambiguous, dual beings—is that men's actions as such are transforming, creative, and re-creative. Overcome by the myths of this culture, including the myth of their own "natural inferiority," they do not know that *their* action upon the world is also transforming. Prevented from having a "structural perception" of the facts involving them, they do not know that they cannot "have a voice," that is, that they cannot exercise the right to participate consciously in the sociohistorical transformation of their society, because their work does not belong to them.

It could be said (and we would agree) that it is not possible to recognize all this apart from praxis, that is, apart from reflection and action, and that to attempt it would be pure idealism. But it is also true that action upon an object must be critically analyzed in order to understand both the object itself and the understanding one has of it. The act of knowing involves a dialectical movement that goes from action to reflection and from reflection upon action to a new action. For the learner to know what he did not know before, he must engage in an authentic

process of abstraction by means of which he can reflect on the action-object whole, or, more generally, on forms of orientation in the world. In this process of abstraction, situations representative of how the learner orients himself in the world are proposed to him as the objects of his critique.

As an event calling forth the critical reflection of both the learners and educators, the literacy process must relate *speaking the word* to *transforming reality*, and to man's role in this transformation. Perceiving the significance of that relationship is indispensable for those learning to read and write if we are really committed to liberation. Such a perception will lead the learners to recognize a much greater right than that of being literate. They will ultimately recognize that, as men, they have the right to have a voice.

On the other hand, as an act of knowing, learning to read and write presupposes not only a theory of knowing but a method that corresponds to the theory.

We recognize the indisputable unity between subjectivity and objectivity in the act of knowing. Reality is never just simply the objective datum, the concrete fact, but is also men's perception of it. Once again, this is not a subjectivistic or idealistic affirmation, as it might seem. On the contrary, subjectivism and idealism come into play when the subjective-objective unity is broken.¹²

The adult literacy process as an act of knowing implies the existence of two interrelated contexts. One is the context of authentic dialogue between learners and educators as equally knowing subjects. This is what schools should be—the theoretical context of dialogue. The second is the real, concrete context of facts, the social reality in which men exist.¹³

In the theoretical context of dialogue, the facts presented by the real or concrete context are critically analyzed. This analysis involves the exercise of abstraction, through which, by means of representations of concrete reality, we seek knowledge of that reality. The instrument for this abstraction in our methodology is codification, or representation of the existential situations of the learners.¹⁴

Codification, on the one hand, mediates between the concrete and theoretical contexts (of reality). On the other hand, as knowable object, it mediates between the knowing subjects, educators and learners, who seek in dialogue to unveil the action-object wholes.

This type of linguistic discourse must be "read" by anyone who tries to interpret it, even when purely pictorial. As such, it presents what Chomsky calls surface structure and deep structure.

The surface structure of codification makes the action-object whole explicit in a purely taxonomic form. The first stage of decodification—or reading—is descriptive.¹⁵ At this stage, the “readers”—or decoders—focus on the relationship between the categories constituting the codification. This preliminary focus on the surface structure is followed by “problematizing” the codified situation. This leads the learner to the second and fundamental stage of decodification, the comprehension of the codification’s deep structure. By understanding the codification’s deep structure the learner can then understand the dialectic that exists between the categories presented in the surface structure, as well as the unity between the surface and deep structures.

In our method, the codification initially takes the form of a photograph or sketch that represents a real existent, or an existent constructed by the learners. When this representation is projected as a slide, the learners effect an operation basic to the fact of knowing: they gain distance from the knowable object. This experience of distance is undergone as well by the educators, so that educators and learners together can reflect critically on the knowable object that mediates between them. The aim of decodification is to arrive at the critical level of knowing, beginning with the learner’s experience of the situation in the “real context.”

Whereas the codified representation is the knowable object mediating between knowing subjects, decodification—dissolving the codification into its constituent elements—is the operation by which the knowing subjects perceive relationships between the codification’s elements and other facts presented by the real context, relationships that were formerly unperceived. Codification represents a given dimension of reality as individuals live it, and this dimension is proposed for their analysis in a context other than that in which they live it. Codification thus transforms what was a way of life in the real context into “objectum” in the theoretical context. The learners, rather than receive information about this or that fact, analyze aspects of their own existential experience represented in the codification.

Existential experience is a whole. In illuminating one of its facets and perceiving the interrelation of that facet with others, the learners tend to replace a fragmented vision of reality with a total vision. From the point of view of a theory of knowledge, this means that the dynamic between codification of existential situations and decodification involves the learners in a constant reconstruction of their former “admiration” of reality.

We do not use the concept of admiration here in the usual way, or in its ethical or aesthetic sense, but with a special philosophical connotation.

To admire is to objectify the “not I.” It is a dialectical operation that characterizes man as man, differentiating him from the animal. It is directly associated with the creative dimension of his language. *To admire* implies that man stands over against his “not I” in order to understand it. For this reason, there is no act of knowing without admiration of the object to be known. If the act of knowing is a dynamic act—and no knowledge is ever complete—then in order to know, man not only admires the object, but must always be readmiring his former admiration. When we readmire our former admiration (always an admiration of), we are simultaneously admiring the act of admiring and the object admired, so that we can overcome the errors we made in our former admiration. This readmiration leads us to a perception of an anterior perception.

In the process of decodifying representations of their existential situations and perceiving former perceptions, the learners gradually, hesitatingly, and timorously place in doubt the opinion they held of reality and replace it with a more and more critical knowledge.

Let us suppose that we were to present to groups from among the dominated classes codifications that portray their imitation of the dominators’ cultural models—a natural tendency of the oppressed consciousness at a given moment.¹⁶ The dominated persons would perhaps, in self-defense, deny the truth of the codification. As they deepened their analysis, however, they would begin to perceive that their apparent imitation of the dominators’ models is a result of their interiorization of these models and, above all, of the myths of the superiority of the dominant classes that cause the dominated to feel inferior. What in fact is pure interiorization appears in a naive analysis to be imitation. At bottom, when the dominated classes reproduce the dominators’ style of life, it is because the dominators live “within” the dominated. The dominated can eject the dominators only by getting distance from them and objectifying them. Only then can they recognize them as their antithesis.¹⁷

To the extent, however, that interiorization of the dominators’ values is not only an individual phenomenon but also a social and cultural one, ejection must be achieved by a type of cultural action in which culture negates culture. That is, culture, as an interiorized product that in turn conditions men’s subsequent acts, must become the object of men’s

knowledge so that they can perceive its conditioning power. Cultural action occurs at the level of superstructure. It can only be understood by what Althusser calls the dialectic of overdetermination.¹⁸ This analytic tool prevents us from falling into mechanistic explanations or, what is worse, mechanistic action. An understanding of it precludes surprise that cultural myths remain after the infrastructure is transformed, even by revolution.

When the creation of a new culture is appropriate but impeded by interiorized cultural "residue," this residue, these myths, must be expelled by means of culture. Cultural action and cultural revolution, at different stages, constitute the modes of this expulsion.

The learners must discover the reasons behind many of their attitudes toward cultural reality and thus confront cultural reality in a new way. Readmiration of their former admiration is necessary in order to bring this about. The learners' capacity for critical knowing—well beyond mere opinion—is established in the process of unveiling their relationships with the historical-cultural world *in* and *with* which they exist.

We do not mean to suggest that critical knowledge of man-world relationships arises as a verbal knowledge outside of praxis. Praxis is involved in the concrete situations that are codified for critical analysis. To analyze the codification in its deep structure is, for this very reason, to reconstruct the former praxis and to become capable of a new and different praxis. The relationship between the theoretical context, in which codified representations of objective facts are analyzed, and the concrete context, where these facts occur, has to be made real.

Such education must have the character of commitment. It implies a movement from the concrete context, which provides objective facts, to the theoretical context, where these facts are analyzed in depth, and back to the concrete context, where men experiment with new forms of praxis.

Dialogue as Methodology

It might seem as if some of our statements defend the principle that, whatever the level of the learners, they ought to reconstruct the process of human knowing in absolute terms. In fact, when we consider adult literacy learning or education in general as an act of knowing, we are advocating a synthesis between the educator's maximally systema-

tized knowing and the learners' minimally systematized knowing—a synthesis achieved in dialogue. The educator's role is to propose problems about the codified existential situations in order to help the learners arrive at a more and more critical view of their reality. The educator's responsibility as conceived by this philosophy is thus greater in every way than that of his colleague whose duty is to transmit information that the learners memorize. Such an educator can simply repeat what he has read, and often misunderstood, since education for him does not mean an act of knowing.

The first type of educator, on the contrary, is a knowing subject, face to face with other knowing subjects. He can never be a mere memorizer, but a person constantly readjusting his knowledge who calls forth knowledge from his students. For him, education is a pedagogy of knowing. The educator whose approach is mere memorization is anti-dialogical; his act of transmitting knowledge is inalterable. For the educator who experiences the act of knowing together with his students, in contrast, dialogue is the sign of the act of knowing. He is aware, however, that not all dialogue is in itself the mark of a relationship of true knowledge.

Socratic intellectualism—which mistook the definition of the concept for knowledge of the thing defined and this knowledge as virtue—did not constitute a true pedagogy of knowing, even though it was dialogical. Plato's theory of dialogue failed to go beyond the Socratic theory of the definition as knowledge, even though for Plato one of the necessary conditions for knowing was that man be capable of a *prise de conscience*, and though the passage from *doxa* to *logos* was indispensable for man to achieve truth. For Plato, the *prise de conscience* did not refer to what man knew or did not know or knew badly about his dialectical relationship with the world; it was concerned rather with what man once knew and forgot at birth. To know was to remember or recollect forgotten knowledge. The apprehension of both *doxa* and *logos* and the overcoming of *doxa* by *logos* occurred, not in the man-world relationship, but in the effort to remember or rediscover a forgotten *logos*.

For dialogue to be a method of true knowledge, the knowing subjects must approach reality scientifically in order to seek the dialectical connections that explain the form of reality. Thus, to know is not to remember something previously known and now forgotten. Nor can *doxa* be overcome by *logos* apart from the dialectical relationship of man with his world, apart from men's reflective action upon the world.

To be an act of knowing, then, the adult literacy process must

engage the learners in the constant problematizing of their existential situations. This problematizing employs generative words chosen by specialized educators in a preliminary investigation of what we call the minimal linguistic universe of the future learners. The words are chosen (a) for their pragmatic value, that is, as linguistic signs that command a common understanding in a region or area of the same city or country (in the United States, for instance, the word *soul* has a special significance in black areas that it does not have among whites), and (b) for their phonetic difficulties, which will gradually be presented to those learning to read and write. Finally, it is important that the first generative word be trisyllabic. When it is divided into its syllables, each one constituting a syllabic family, the learners can experiment with various syllabic combinations even at first sight of the word.

Having chosen seventeen generative words, the next step is to codify seventeen existential situations familiar to the learners.¹⁹ The generative words are then worked into the situations one by one in the order of their increasing phonetic difficulty. As we have already emphasized, these codifications are knowable objects that mediate between the knowing subjects, educator-learners, learner-educators. Their act of knowing is elaborated in the *círculo de cultura* (cultural discussion group), which functions as the theoretical context.

In Brazil, before analyzing the learners' existential situations and the generative words contained in them, we proposed the codified theme of man-world relationships in general.²⁰ In Chile, at the suggestion of Chilean educators, this important dimension was discussed concurrently with learning to read and write. What is important is that the person learning words be concomitantly engaged in a critical analysis of the social framework in which men exist. For example, the word *favela* in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and the word *callampa* in Chile represent, each with its own nuances, the same social, economic, and cultural reality of the vast numbers of slum dwellers in those countries. If *favela* and *callampa* are used as generative words for the people of Brazilian and Chilean slums, respectively, the codification will have to represent slum situations.

There are many people who consider slum dwellers marginal, intrinsically wicked and inferior. To such people we recommend the profitable experience of discussing the slum situation with slum dwellers themselves. Since some of these critics are often simply mistaken, it is possible that they may rectify their mythical clichés and assume a more scientific attitude. They may avoid saying that the illiteracy, alcoholism,

and crime of the slums, that its sickness, infant mortality, learning deficiencies, and poor hygiene, reveal the "inferior nature" of its inhabitants. They may even end up realizing that if intrinsic evil exists it is part of the structures, and that it is the structures that need to be transformed.

It should be pointed out that the Third World as a whole, and more in some parts than in others, suffers from the same misunderstanding among certain sectors of the so-called metropolitan societies. They see the Third World as the incarnation of evil, the primitive, the devil, sin and sloth—in sum, as historically unviable without the director societies. Such a Manichaeian attitude is at the source of the impulse to "save" the "demon-possessed" Third World, "educating it" and "correcting its thinking" according to the director societies' own criteria.

The expansionist interests of the director societies are implicit in such notions. These societies can never relate to the Third World as partners, since partnership presupposes equals, no matter how different the equal parties may be, and can never be established between parties antagonistic to each other.

Thus, "salvation" of the Third World by the director societies can only mean its domination, whereas in its legitimate aspiration to independence lies its utopian vision: to save the director societies in the very act of freeing itself.

In this sense the pedagogy that we defend, conceived in a significant area of the Third World, is itself a utopian pedagogy. By this very fact it is full of hope, for to be utopian is not to be merely idealistic or impractical but rather to engage in denunciation and annunciation. Our pedagogy cannot do without a vision of man and of the world. It formulates a scientific humanist conception that finds its expression in a dialogical praxis in which the teachers and learners together, in the act of analyzing a dehumanizing reality, denounce it while announcing its transformation in the name of the liberation of man.

For this very reason, denunciation and annunciation in this utopian pedagogy are not meant to be empty words, but an historic commitment. Denunciation of a dehumanizing situation today increasingly demands precise scientific understanding of that situation. Similarly, the annunciation of its transformation increasingly requires a theory of transforming action. Yet, neither act by itself implies the transformation of the denounced reality or the establishment of that which is announced. Rather, as a moment in a historical process, the announced reality is already present in the act of denunciation and annunciation.²¹

That is why the utopian character of our educational theory and practice is as permanent as education itself, which for us is cultural action. Its thrust toward denunciation and annunciation cannot be exhausted when the reality denounced today cedes its place tomorrow to the reality previously announced in the denunciation. When education is no longer utopian, that is, when it no longer embodies the dramatic unity of denunciation and annunciation, it is either because the future has no more meaning for men, or because men are afraid to risk living the future as creative overcoming of the present, which has become old.

The more likely explanation is generally the latter. That is why some people today study all the possibilities the future contains, in order to "domesticate" it and keep it in line with the present, which is what they intend to maintain. If there is any anguish in director societies hidden beneath the cover of their cold technology, it springs from their desperate determination that their metropolitan status be preserved in the future. Among the things the Third World may learn from the metropolitan societies there is this that is fundamental: not to replicate those societies when its current utopia becomes fact.

When we defend such a conception of education—realistic precisely to the extent that it is utopian, that is, to the extent that it denounces what in fact is, and finds therefore between denunciation and its realization the time of its praxis—we are attempting to formulate a type of education that corresponds to the specifically human mode of being, which is historical.

There is no annunciation without denunciation, just as every denunciation generates annunciation. Without the latter, hope is impossible. In an authentic utopian vision, however, hoping does not mean folding one's arms and waiting. Waiting is only possible when one, filled with hope, seeks through reflective action to achieve that announced future which is being born within the denunciation.

That is why there is no genuine hope in those who intend to make the future repeat their present, or in those who see the future as something predetermined. Both have a domesticated notion of history: the former because they want to stop time, the latter because they are certain about a future they already "know." Utopian hope, on the contrary, is engagement full of risk. That is why the dominators, who merely denounce those who denounce them and have nothing to announce but the preservation of the status quo, can never be utopian or, for that matter, prophetic.²²

A utopian pedagogy of denunciation and annunciation such as ours

will have to be an act of knowing the denounced reality at the level of alphabetization and postalphabetization, which are in each case cultural action. That is why there is such emphasis on the continual problematization of the learners' existential situations as represented in the codified images. The longer the problematization proceeds, and the more the subjects enter into the "essence" of the problematized object, the more they are able to unveil this essence. The more they unveil it, the more their awakening consciousness deepens, thus leading to the "conscientization" of the situation by the poor classes. Their critical self-insertion into reality, that is, their conscientization, makes the transformation of their state of apathy into the utopian state of *denunciation* and *annunciation* a viable project.

Sowers of the Word

One must not think, however, that learning to read and write precedes conscientization, or vice versa. Conscientization occurs simultaneously with the literacy or postliteracy process. It must be so. In our educational method, the word is not something static or disconnected from men's existential experience, but a dimension of their thought-language about the world. That is why when they participate critically in analyzing the first generative words linked with their existential experience, when they focus on the syllabic families that result from that analysis, when they perceive the mechanism of the syllabic combinations of their language, the learners finally discover, in the various possibilities of combination, their own words. Little by little, as these possibilities multiply, the learners, through mastery of new generative words, expand both their vocabulary and their capacity for expression by the development of their creative imagination.²³

In some areas in Chile undergoing agrarian reform, the peasants participating in the literacy programs wrote words with their tools on the dirt roads where they were working. They composed the words from the syllabic combinations they were learning. "These men are sowers of the word," said Maria Edi Ferreira, a sociologist from the Santiago team working in the Institute of Training and Research in Agrarian Reform. Indeed, they were not only sowing words but discussing ideas, and coming to understand their role in the world better and better.

We asked one of these sowers of words, finishing the first level of

literacy classes, why he hadn't learned to read and write before the agrarian reform.

"Before the agrarian reform, my friend," he said, "I didn't even think. Neither did my friends."

"Why?" we asked.

"Because it wasn't possible. We lived under orders. We only had to carry out orders. We had nothing to say," he replied emphatically.

The simple answer of this peasant is a clear analysis of the culture of silence. In the culture of silence, to exist is only to live. The body carries out orders from above. Thinking is difficult, speaking the word, forbidden.

"When all this land belonged to one *latifundio*," said another man in the same conversation, "there was no reason to read and write. We weren't responsible for anything. The boss gave the orders and we obeyed. Why read and write? Now it's a different story. Take me, for example. In the *asentamiento*, I am responsible not only for my work like all the other men but also for tool repairs."²⁴ When I started I couldn't read, but I soon realized that I needed to read and write. You can't imagine what it was like to go to Santiago to buy parts. I couldn't get oriented. I was afraid of everything—afraid of the big city, of buying the wrong thing, of being cheated. Now it's all different."

Observe how precisely this peasant described his former experience as an illiterate: his mistrust, his magical (though logical) fear of the world, his timidity. And observe the sense of security with which he repeats, "Now it's all different."

"What did you feel, my friend," we asked another sower of words on a different occasion, "when you were able to write and read your first word?"

"I was happy because I discovered I could make words speak," he replied.

Dario Salas reports, "In our conversations with peasants we were struck by the images they used to express their interest and satisfaction about becoming literate. For example, 'Before we were blind, now the veil has fallen from our eyes'; 'I came only to learn how to sign my name. I never believed I would be able to read, too, at my age'; 'Before, letters seemed like little puppets. Today they say something to me, and I can make them talk.'"²⁵

"It is touching," continues Salas, "to observe the delight of the peasants as the world of words opens to them. Sometimes they would

say, 'We're so tired our heads ache, but we don't want to leave here without learning to read and write.'"²⁶

The following words were taped during research on "generative themes."²⁷ They are an illiterate's decodification of a codified existential situation.

"You see a house there, sad, as if it were abandoned. When you see a house with a child in it, it seems happier. It gives more joy and peace to people passing by. The father of the family arrives home from work exhausted, worried, bitter, and his little boy comes to meet him with a big hug, because a little boy is not yet like a big person. The father already begins to be happier just from seeing his children. Then he really enjoys himself. He is moved by his son's wanting to please him. The father becomes more peaceful, and forgets his problems."

Note once again the simplicity of expression, both profound and elegant, in the peasant's language. These are the people considered absolutely ignorant by the proponents of the nutritionist concept of literacy.

In 1968, an Uruguayan team published a small book, *You Live as You Can (Se Vive como se puede)*, whose contents are taken from the tape recordings of literacy classes for urban dwellers. Its first edition of three thousand copies was sold out in Montevideo in fifteen days, as was the second edition. The following is an excerpt from this book.

THE COLOR OF WATER

Water? Water? What is water used for?

"Yes, yes, we saw it (in the picture)."

"Oh, my native village, so far away. . . ."

"Do you remember that village?"

"The stream where I grew up, called Dead Friar . . . you know, I grew up there, a childhood moving from one place to another . . . the color of the water brings back good memories, beautiful memories."

"What is the water used for?"

"It is used for washing. We used it to wash clothes, and the animals in the fields used to go there to drink, and we washed ourselves there, too."

"Did you also use the water for drinking?"

"Yes, when we were at the stream and had no other water to drink, we drank from the stream. I remember once in 1945 a plague of locusts came from somewhere, and we had to fish them out of the water . . . I was small, but I remember taking out the locusts like this, with my two hands—and I had no others. And I remember how

hot the water was when there was a drought and the stream was almost dry . . . the water was dirty, muddy, and hot, with all kinds of things in it. But we had to drink it or die of thirst."

The whole book is like this, pleasant in style, with great strength of expression of the world of its authors, those anonymous people, sowers of words, seeking to emerge from the culture of silence.

Yes, these ought to be the reading texts for people learning to read and write, and not "Eva saw the grape," "The bird's wing," "If you hammer a nail, be careful not to hit your fingers." Intellectualistic prejudices and above all class prejudices are responsible for the naive and unfounded notions that the people cannot write their own texts, or that a tape of their conversations is valueless, since their conversations are impoverished of meaning. Comparing what the sowers of words said in the above references with what is generally written by specialist authors of reading lessons, we are convinced that only someone with very pronounced lack of taste or a lamentable scientific incompetency would choose the specialists' texts.

Imagine a book written entirely in this simple, poetic, free language of the people, a book on which interdisciplinary teams would collaborate in the spirit of true dialogue. The role of the teams would be to elaborate specialized sections of the book in problematic terms. For example, a section on linguistics would deal simply though not simplistically, with questions fundamental to the learners' critical understanding of language. Let me emphasize again that since one of the important aspects of adult literacy work is the development of the capacity for expression, the section on linguistics would present themes for the learners to discuss, ranging from the increase of vocabulary to questions about communication—including the study of synonyms and antonyms, with its analysis of words in the linguistic context, and the use of metaphor, of which the people are such masters. Another section might provide the tools for a sociological analysis of the content of the texts.

These texts would not, of course, be used for mere mechanical reading, which leaves the readers without any understanding of what is real. Consistent with the nature of this pedagogy, they would become the object of analysis in reading seminars.

Add to all this the great stimulus it would be for those learning to read and write, as well as for students on more advanced levels, to know that they were reading and discussing the work of their own companions.

To undertake such a work, it is necessary to have faith in the people, solidarity with them. It is necessary to be utopian, in the sense in which we have used the word.

NOTES

1. This essay first appeared in the *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 40, no. 2 (May 1970): 205-225.

2. In languages like Portuguese or Spanish, words are composed syllabically. Thus, every nonmonosyllabic word is, technically, *generative*, in the sense that other words can be constructed from its decomposed syllables. For a word to be authentically generative, however, certain conditions must be present; these will be discussed in a later section of this essay. [At the phonetic level the term *generative word* is properly applicable only in a sound-syllabic reading methodology, while the thematic application is universal. See Sylvia Ashton-Warner's *Teacher* for a different treatment of the concept of generative words at the thematic level.—Editor.]

3. Jean Paul Sartre, *Situations I* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1947), p. 31.

4. The nutritionist concept of knowledge is suggested by "controlled readings," by classes that consist only of lectures; by the use of memorized dialogues in language learning; by bibliographical notes that indicate not only which chapter but which lines and words are to be read; by the methods of evaluating the students' progress in learning.

5. See Paulo Freire, "La alfabetización de adultos, crítica de su visión ingenua; comprensión de su visión crítica," in *Introducción a la acción cultural* (Santiago: ICIRA, 1969).

6. There are two noteworthy exceptions among these primers: (1) In Brazil, *Viver e lutar*, developed by a team of specialists of the Basic Education Movement, sponsored by the National Conference of Bishops. (This reader became the object of controversy after it was banned as subversive by the then governor of Guanabara, Mr. Carlos Lacerda, in 1963.) (2) In Chile, the ESPIGA collection, despite some small defects. The collection was organized by Jefatura de Planes Extraordinarios de Educación de Adultos, of the Public Education Ministry.

7. Since at the time this essay was written the writer did not have access to the primers, and was, therefore, vulnerable to recording phrases imprecisely or to confusing the author of one or another primer, it was thought best not to identify the authors or the titles of the books.

4/2 - DMIC102 -

4-9 guest speaker

4-16 Easter week (spring break)

4-23 - mid term - reading

how to structure outline

oral presentations - 5 minutes

→ How to do Oral Presentation →

→ read "Mexican" markers →



How to prepare a speech

Self-fulfilled Prophecy

(1) analyse audience

a. - Who are you talking to - 3rd graders →
are 3rd grader examples

b. - understand your assignment -



Presentation to inform

(2) Success =

a. good prepare = higher outcome & desired results. (eg. practice, prepare, discipline)

eg. → order & discipline is a result of military experience

b. How much time is allocated - eg. 5 minutes,

c. must stimulate your audience. Thesis statement should be the hook / plus "catchy title"

which includes
purpose

develop opening statement
make smooth transition to body of
presentation - make sure it flows.

① outline → essay → condensed = presentation
strong presentation

② (observe) pre-presentation to friend.

→ don't read your speeches. (don't bring up
"paper" - use large card)

→ don't use clichés

→ don't use ~~1st~~ person pronouns -
use 3rd person pronouns -

"I read that ..." vs "the reader read
that ..."

→ try to avoid technical terminology -
(no explanation & definition).

1st draft = thoughts (raw)

2nd " = grammar refinement
/ syntax

→ use a thesaurus - use vocabulary

→ use at least two references - quote a source
indicate what the purpose -

give conclusion - express your values.

After 1st draft - allow one day for review
of your re-read -
at this stage refine/return paper
grammar / condensed.
Executive for
(1) words
(2) coherence
(3) structure
Topic sentence -
very simple.
This journey is all the point
again...

Table 2.

Changes in Hispanic Population by State: 1970-1980.

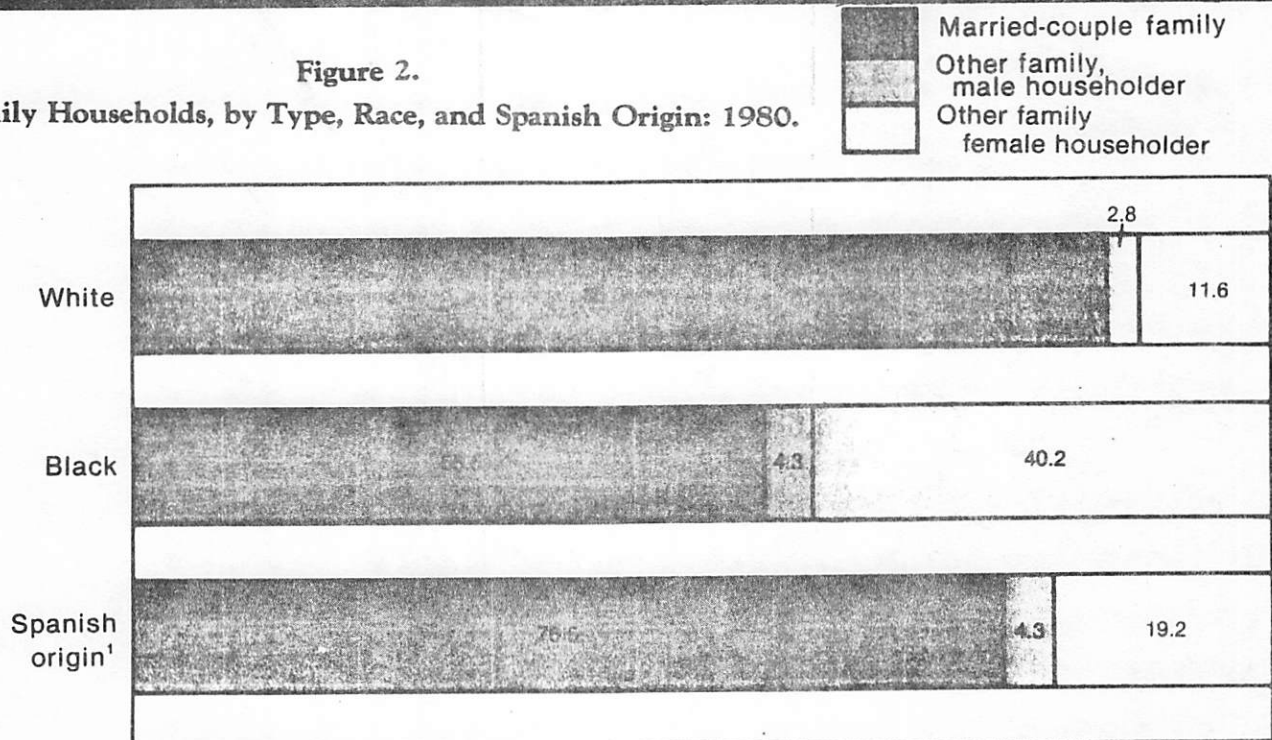
State	Total Hispanic Population 1970	Total Hispanic Population 1980	Percent Change Hispanic In Population: 1970-1980	State	Total Hispanic Population 1970	Total Hispanic Population 1980	Percent Change Hispanic In Population: 1970-1980
Alabama	38,848	33,100	-17.3	Montana	6,344	9,974	57.2
Alaska	4,625	9,497	105.3	Nebraska	20,768	28,020	34.9
Arizona	265,006	440,915	66.3	Nevada	20,505	53,786	157.4
Arkansas	24,358	17,873	-36.3	New Hampshire	2,281	5,587	144.9
California	2,368,748	4,543,770	91.8	New Jersey	288,488	491,867	70.5
Colorado	225,506	339,300	50.4	New Mexico	308,340	476,089	54.4
Connecticut	65,468	124,499	90.1	New York	1,352,302	1,659,245	22.7
Delaware	8,477	9,671	14.0	North Carolina	43,414	56,607	30.3
District of Columbia	15,108	17,652	16.8	North Dakota	2,492	3,903	56.6
Florida	405,037	857,898	111.8	Ohio	129,996	119,880	-8.4
Georgia	45,289	61,261	35.2	Oklahoma	51,284	57,413	11.9
Hawaii	24,864	71,479	187.5	Oregon	22,338	65,833	194.7
Idaho	16,086	36,615	127.6	Pennsylvania	108,893	154,004	41.4
Illinois	393,347	635,525	61.5	Rhode Island	7,596	19,707	159.4
Indiana	112,472	87,020	-29.2	South Carolina	14,111	33,414	136.8
Iowa	21,022	25,536	21.4	South Dakota	2,929	4,028	37.5
Kansas	54,185	63,333	16.8	Tennessee	49,588	34,081	-45.5
Kentucky	44,758	27,403	-63.3	Texas	1,840,862	2,985,643	62.1
Louisiana	70,575	99,105	40.4	Utah	33,911	50,302	77.1
Maine	2,433	5,005	105.7	Vermont	1,611	3,304	105.0
Maryland	45,461	64,740	42.4	Virginia	40,222	79,873	98.5
Massachusetts	66,146	141,043	113.2	Washington	57,358	119,986	109.2
Michigan	151,070	162,388	7.5	West Virginia	8,780	12,707	44.7
Minnesota	37,257	32,124	-15.9	Wisconsin	62,878	62,981	.16
Mississippi	15,815	24,731	56.3	Wyoming	13,894	24,499	76.3
Missouri	60,091	51,667	-16.3				

This table courtesy AGENDA Magazine.

Sources: 1970 Census of Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, PC (SI)-30, February 1973.
 1980 Census of Population and Housing, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, PHC 80-V-1, April 1981.

Figure 2.

Family Households, by Type, Race, and Spanish Origin: 1980.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 363.

Percent

28 / The Labyrinth of Solitude

as they were before they were transformed by that elated sureness (of what: of life or of death?); they are the faces of coarse and humble people. But the memory will never leave me. Anyone who has looked Hope in the face will never forget it. He will search for it everywhere he goes, among all kinds of men. And he will dream of finding it again someday, somewhere, perhaps among those closest to him. In every man there is the possibility of his being — or, to be more exact, of his becoming once again — another man.

From: LABYRINTH OF SOLITUDE

LIFE + THOUGHT IN MEXICO

CHAPTER TWO

OCTAVIO PAZ © 1950

Mexican Masks

Impassioned heart,
disguise your sorrow . . .
— Popular song



The Mexican, whether young or old, *criollo* or *mestizo*,¹ general or laborer or lawyer, seems to me to be a person who shuts himself away to protect himself: his face is a mask and so is his smile. In his harsh solitude, which is both barbed and courteous, everything serves him as a defense: silence and words, politeness and disdain, irony and resignation. He is jealous of his own privacy and that of others, and he is afraid even to glance at his neighbor, because a mere glance can trigger the rage of these electrically charged spirits. He passes through life like a man who has been flayed; everything can hurt him, including words and the very suspicion of words. His language is full of reticences, of metaphors and allusions, of unfinished phrases, while his silence is full of tints, folds, thunderheads, sudden rainbows, indecipherable threats. Even in a quarrel he prefers veiled expressions to outright insults: "A word to the wise is sufficient." He builds a wall of indifference and remoteness between reality and himself, a wall that is no less impenetrable for being invisible. The Mexican is always remote, from the world and from other people. And also from himself.

The speech of our people reflects the extent to which we protect ourselves from the outside world: the ideal of manliness

¹*Criollo*: a person of pure Spanish blood living in the Americas. — Tr.
Mestizo: a person of mixed Spanish and Indian blood. — Tr.

is never to "crack," never to back down. Those who "open themselves up" are cowards. Unlike other people, we believe that opening oneself up is a weakness or a betrayal. The Mexican can bend, can bow humbly, can even stoop, but he cannot back down, that is, he cannot allow the outside world to penetrate his privacy. The man who backs down is not to be trusted, is a traitor or a person of doubtful loyalty; he babbles secrets and is incapable of confronting a dangerous situation. *Women are inferior beings because, in submitting, they open themselves up. Their inferiority is constitutional and resides in their sex, their submissiveness, which is a wound that never heals.*

Hermeticism is one of the several recourses of our suspicion and distrust. It shows that we instinctively regard the world around us to be dangerous. This reaction is justifiable if one considers what our history has been and the kind of society we have created. The harshness and hostility of our environment, and the hidden, indefinable threat that is always afloat in the air, oblige us to close ourselves in, like those plants that survive by storing up liquid within their spiny exteriors. But this attitude, legitimate enough in its origins, has become a mechanism that functions automatically. Our response to sympathy and tenderness is reserve, since we cannot tell whether those feelings are genuine or simulated. In addition, our masculine integrity is as much endangered by kindness as it is by hostility. Any opening in our defenses is a lessening of our manliness.

Our relationships with other men are always tinged with suspicion. Every time a Mexican confides in a friend or acquaintance, every time he opens himself up, it is an abdication. He dreads that the person in whom he has confided will scorn him. Therefore confidences result in dishonor, and they are as dangerous for the person to whom they are made as they are for the person who makes them. We do not drown ourselves, like

Narcissus, in the pool that reflects us; we try to stop it up instead. Our anger is prompted not only by the fear of being used by our confidants — that fear is common to everyone — but also by the shame of having renounced our solitude. To confide in others is to dispossess oneself; when we have confided in someone who is not worthy of it, we say, "I sold myself to So-and-so." That is, we have "cracked," have let someone into our fortress. The distance between one man and another, which creates mutual respect and mutual security, has disappeared. We are at the mercy of the intruder. What is worse, we have actually abdicated.

All these expressions reveal that the Mexican views life as combat. This attitude does not make him any different from anyone else in the modern world. For other people, however, the manly ideal consists in an open and aggressive fondness for combat, whereas we emphasize defensiveness, the readiness to repel any attack. The Mexican *macho* — the male — is a hermetic being, closed up in himself, capable of guarding both himself and whatever has been confided to him. Manliness is judged according to one's invulnerability to enemy arms or the impacts of the outside world. Stoicism is the most exalted of our military and political attributes. Our history is full of expressions and incidents that demonstrate the indifference of our heroes toward suffering or danger. We are taught from childhood to accept defeat with dignity, a conception that is certainly not ignoble. And if we are not all good stoics like Juárez and Cuauhtémoc, at least we can be resigned and patient and long-suffering. Resignation is one of our most popular virtues. We admire fortitude in the face of adversity more than the most brilliant triumph.

This predominance of the closed over the open manifests itself not only as impassivity and distrust, irony and suspicion,

but also as love for Form. Form surrounds and sets bounds to our privacy, limiting its excesses, curbing its explosions, isolating and preserving it. Both our Spanish and Indian heritages have influenced our fondness for ceremony, formulas, and order. A superficial examination of our history might suggest otherwise, but actually the Mexican aspires to create an orderly world regulated by clearly stated principles. The turbulence and rancor of our political struggles prove that juridical ideas play an important role in our public life. The Mexican also strives to be formal in his daily life, and his formalities are very apt to become formulas. This is not difficult to understand. Order — juridical, social, religious or artistic — brings security and stability, and a person has only to adjust to the models and principles that regulate life; he can express himself without resorting to the perpetual inventiveness demanded by a free society. Perhaps our traditionalism, which is one of the constants of our national character, giving coherence to our people and our history, results from our professed love for Form.

The ritual complications of our courtesy, the persistence of classical Humanism, our fondness for closed poetic forms (the sonnet and the *décima*, for example), our love for geometry in the decorative arts and for design and composition in painting, the poverty of our Romantic art compared with the excellence of our Baroque art, the formalism of our political institutions, and, finally, our dangerous inclination toward formalism, whether social, moral or bureaucratic, are further expressions of that tendency in our character. The Mexican not only does not open himself up to the outside world, he also refuses to emerge from himself, to "let himself go."

Sometimes Form chokes us. During the past century the liberals tried vainly to force the realities of the country into the strait jacket of the Constitution of 1857. The results were

the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz and the Revolution of 1910. In a certain sense the history of Mexico, like that of every Mexican, is a struggle between the forms and formulas that have been imposed on us and the explosions with which our individuality avenges itself. Form has rarely been an original creation, an equilibrium arrived at through our instincts and desires rather than at their expense. On the contrary, our moral and juridical forms often conflict with our nature, preventing us from expressing ourselves and frustrating our true wishes.

Our devotion to Form, even when empty, can be seen throughout the history of Mexican art from pre-Conquest times to the present. Antonio Castro Leal, in his excellent study of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, shows how our reserved attitude toward Romanticism — which by definition is expansive and open — revealed itself as early as the seventeenth century, that is, before we were even aware of ourselves as a nation. Alarcón's contemporaries were right in accusing him of being an interloper, although they were referring more to his physical characteristics than to the singularity of his work. In effect, the most typical portions of his plays deny the values expressed by his Spanish contemporaries. And his negation contains in brief what Mexico has always opposed to Spain. His plays were an answer to Spanish vitality, which was affirmative and splendid in that epoch, expressing itself in a great Yes! to history and the passions. Lope de Vega exalted love, heroism, the superhuman, the incredible; Alarcón favored other virtues, more subtle and bourgeois: dignity, courtesy, a melancholy stoicism, a smiling modesty. Lope was very little interested in moral problems: he loved action, like all his contemporaries. Later, Calderón showed the same contempt for psychology. Moral conflicts and the hesitations and changes of the human soul were only metaphors in a theological drama whose two personae were Original

Sin and Divine Grace. In Alarcón's most representative plays, on the other hand, Heaven counts for little, as little as the passionate wind that sweeps away Lope's characters. The Mexican tells us that human beings are a mixture, that good and evil are subtly blended in their souls. He uses analysis rather than synthesis: the hero becomes a problem. In several of his comedies he takes up the question of lying. To what extent does a liar really lie? Is he really trying to deceive others? Is he not the first victim of his deceit, and the first to be deceived? The liar lies to himself, because he is afraid of himself. By discussing the problem of authenticity, Alarcón anticipated one of the constant themes of Mexican thinking, later taken up by Rodolfo Usigli in his play *The Gesticulator*.

Neither passion nor Grace triumph in Alarcón's world. Everything is subordinated to reason, or to reasonableness, and his archetypes are those of a morality that smiles and forgives. When he replaces the vital, Romantic values of Lope with the abstract values of a universal and reasonable morality, is he not evading us, tricking us? His negation, like that of his homeland, does not affirm our individuality vis-à-vis that of the Spaniards. The values that Alarcón postulates belong to all men and are a Greco-Roman inheritance as well as a prophecy of the bourgeois code. They do not express our nature or resolve our conflicts: they are Forms we have neither created nor suffered, are mere masks. Only in our own day have we been able to answer the Spanish Yes with a Mexican Yes rather than with an intellectual affirmation containing nothing of our individual selves. The Revolution, by discovering popular art, originated modern Mexican painting, and by discovering the Mexican language it created a new poetry.

While the Mexican tries to create closed worlds in his politics and in the arts, he wants modesty, prudence, and a ceremonious

reserve to rule over his everyday life. Modesty results from shame at one's own or another's nakedness, and with us it is an almost physical reflex. Nothing could be further from this attitude than that fear of the body which is characteristic of North American life. We are not afraid or ashamed of our bodies; we accept them as completely natural and we live physically with considerable gusto. It is the opposite of Puritanism. The body exists, and gives weight and shape to our existence. It causes us pain and it gives us pleasure; it is not a suit of clothes we are in the habit of wearing, not something apart from us: we *are* our bodies. But we are frightened by other people's glances, because the body reveals rather than hides our private selves. Therefore our modesty is a defense, like our courtesy's Great Wall of China or like the fences of organ-pipe cactus that separate the huts of our country people. This explains why prudence is the virtue we most admire in women, just as reserve is in men. Women too should defend their privacy.

No doubt an element of masculine vanity, the vanity of the "señor," of the lord or chieftain (it is an inheritance from both our Indian and Spanish ancestors), enters into our conception of feminine modesty. Like almost all other people, the Mexican considers woman to be an instrument, sometimes of masculine desires, sometimes of the ends assigned to her by morality, society and the law. It must be admitted that she has never been asked to consent to these ends and that she participates in their realization only passively, as a "repository" for certain values. Whether as prostitute, goddess, *grande dame* or mistress, woman transmits or preserves — but does not believe in — the values and energies entrusted to her by nature or society. In a world made in man's image, woman is only a reflection of masculine will and desire. When passive, she becomes a goddess, a beloved one, a being who embodies the ancient, stable elements

of the universe: the earth, motherhood, virginity. When active, she is always function and means, a receptacle and a channel. Womanhood, unlike manhood, is never an end in itself.

In other countries these functions are realized in public, often with something of a flair. There are countries that revere prostitutes or virgins, and countries that worship mothers; the *grande dame* is praised and respected almost everywhere. In contrast, we prefer these graces and virtues to be hidden. Woman should be secretive. She should confront the world with an impassive smile. She should be "decent" in the face of erotic excitements and "long-suffering" in the face of adversity. In either event her response is neither instinctive nor personal: it conforms to a general model, and it is the defensive and passive aspects of this model, as in the case of the *macho*, that are emphasized, in a gamut ranging from modesty and "decency" to stoicism, resignation and impassivity.

Our Spanish-Arabic inheritance is only a partial explanation of this conduct. The Spanish attitude toward women is very simple. It is expressed quite brutally and concisely in these two sayings: "A woman's place is in the home, with a broken leg" and "Between a female saint and a male saint, a wall of mortared stone." Woman is a domesticated wild animal, lecherous and sinful from birth, who must be subdued with a stick and guided by the "reins of religion." Therefore Spaniards consider other women — especially those of a race or religion different from their own — to be easy game. The Mexican considers woman to be a dark, secret and passive being. He does not attribute evil instincts to her; he even pretends that she does not have any. Or, to put it more exactly, her instincts are not her own but those of the species, because she is an incarnation of the life force, which is essentially impersonal. Thus it is impossible for her to have a personal, private life, for if she were to be herself

— if she were to be mistress of her own wishes, passions or whims — she would be unfaithful to herself. The Mexican, heir to the great pre-Columbian religions based on nature, is a good deal more pagan than the Spaniard, and does not condemn the natural world. Sexual love is not tinged with grief and horror in Mexico as it is in Spain. Instincts themselves are not dangerous; the danger lies in any personal, individual expression of them. And this brings us back to the idea of passivity: woman is never herself, whether lying stretched out or standing up straight, whether naked or fully clothed. She is an undifferentiated manifestation of life, a channel for the universal appetite. In this sense she has no desires of her own.

North Americans also claim that instincts and desires do not exist, but the basis of their pretense is different from ours, even the opposite of it. The North American hides or denies certain parts of his body and, more often, of his psyche: they are immoral, ergo they do not exist. By denying them he inhibits his spontaneity. The Mexican woman quite simply has no will of her own. Her body is asleep and only comes really alive when someone awakens her. She is an answer rather than a question, a vibrant and easily worked material that is shaped by the imagination and sensuality of the male. In other countries women are active, attempting to attract men through the agility of their minds or the seductivity of their bodies, but the Mexican woman has a sort of hieratic calm, a tranquillity made up of both hope and contempt. The man circles around her, courts her, sings to her, sets his horse (or his imagination) to performing caracoles for her pleasure. Meanwhile she remains behind the veil of her modesty and immobility. She is an idol, and like all idols she is mistress of magnetic forces whose efficacy increases as their source of transmission becomes more and more passive and secretive. There is a cosmic analogy here: woman

does not seek, she attracts, and the center of attraction is her hidden, passive sexuality. It is a secret and immobile sun.

The falsity of this conception is obvious enough when one considers the Mexican woman's sensitivity and restlessness, but at least it does not turn her into an object, a mere thing. She is a symbol, like all women, of the stability and continuity of the race. In addition to her cosmic significance she has an important social role, which is to see to it that law and order, piety and tenderness are predominant in everyday life. We will not allow anyone to be disrespectful to women, and although this is doubtless a universal notion, the Mexican carries it to its ultimate consequences. Thanks to woman, many of the asperities of "man-to-man" relationships are softened. Of course we should ask the Mexican woman for her own opinion, because this "respect" is often a hypocritical way of subjecting her and preventing her from expressing herself. Perhaps she would usually prefer to be treated with less "respect" (which anyway is granted to her only in public) and with greater freedom and truthfulness; that is, to be treated as a human being rather than as a symbol or function. But how can we agree to let her express herself when our whole way of life is a mask designed to hide our intimate feelings?

Despite her modesty and the vigilance of society, woman is always vulnerable. Her social situation — as the repository of honor, in the Spanish sense — and the misfortune of her "open" anatomy expose her to all kinds of dangers, against which neither personal morality nor masculine protection is sufficient. She is submissive and open by nature. But, through a compensation-mechanism that is easily explained, her natural frailty is made a virtue and the myth of the "long-suffering Mexican woman" is created. The idol — always vulnerable, always in process of transforming itself into a human being — becomes a victim, but

a victim hardened and insensible to suffering, bearing her tribulations in silence. (A "long-suffering" person is less sensitive to pain than a person whom adversity has hardly touched.) Through suffering, our women become like our men: invulnerable, impassive, and stoic.

It might be said that by turning what ought to be a cause for shame into a virtue, we are only trying to relieve our guilt feelings and cover up a cruel reality. This is true, but it is also true that in attributing to her the same invulnerability that we strive to achieve ourselves, we provide her with a moral immunity to shield her unfortunate anatomical openness. Thanks to suffering and her ability to endure it without protest, she transcends her condition and acquires the same attributes as men.

It is interesting to note that the image of the *mala mujer* — the "bad woman" — is almost always accompanied by the idea of aggressive activity. She is not passive like the "self-denying mother," the "waiting sweetheart," the hermetic idol: she comes and goes, she looks for men and then leaves them. Her extreme mobility, through a mechanism similar to that described above, renders her invulnerable. Activity and immodesty unite to petrify her soul. The *mala* is hard and impious and independent like the *macho*. In her own way she also transcends her physiological weakness and closes herself off from the world.

It is likewise significant that masculine homosexuality is regarded with a certain indulgence insofar as the active agent is concerned. The passive agent is an abject, degraded being. This ambiguous conception is made very clear in the word games or battles — full of obscene allusions and double meanings — that are so popular in Mexico City. Each of the speakers tries to humiliate his adversary with verbal traps and ingenious linguistic combinations, and the loser is the person who cannot think of a comeback, who has to swallow his opponent's jibes.

These jibes are full of aggressive sexual allusions; the loser is possessed, is violated, by the winner, and the spectators laugh and sneer at him. Masculine homosexuality is tolerated, then, on condition that it consists in violating a passive agent. As with heterosexual relationships, the important thing is not to open oneself up and at the same time to break open one's opponent.

It seems to me that all of these attitudes, however different their sources, testify to the "closed" nature of our reactions to the world around us or to our fellows. But our mechanisms of defense and self-preservation are not enough, and therefore we make use of dissimulation, which is almost habitual with us. It does not increase our passivity; on the contrary, it demands an active inventiveness and must reshape itself from one moment to another. We tell lies for the mere pleasure of it, like all imaginative peoples, but we also tell lies to hide ourselves and to protect ourselves from intruders. Lying plays a decisive role in our daily lives, our politics, our love-affairs and our friendships, and since we attempt to deceive ourselves as well as others, our lies are brilliant and fertile, not like the gross inventions of other peoples. Lying is a tragic game in which we risk a part of our very selves. Hence it is pointless to denounce it.

The dissembler pretends to be someone he is not. His role requires constant improvisation, a steady forward progress across shifting sands. Every moment he must remake, re-create, modify the personage he is playing, until at last the moment arrives when reality and appearance, the lie and the truth, are one. At first the pretense is only a fabric of inventions intended to baffle our neighbors, but eventually it becomes a superior — because more artistic — form of reality. Our lies reflect both what we lack and what we desire, both what we are not and

what we would like to be. Through dissimulation we come closer to our model, and sometimes the gesticulator, as Usigli saw so profoundly, becomes one with his gestures and thus makes them authentic. The death of Professor Rubio changed him into what he wanted to be: General Rubio, a sincere revolutionary and a man capable of giving the stagnating Revolution a fresh impetus and purity. In the Usigli play Professor Rubio invents a new self and becomes a general, and his lie is so truthlike that the corrupt Navarro has no other course than to murder him, as if he were murdering his old commander, General Rubio, all over again. By killing him he kills the truth of the Revolution.

If we can arrive at authenticity by means of lies, an excess of sincerity can bring us to refined forms of lying. When we fall in love we open ourselves up and reveal our intimate feelings, because an ancient tradition requires that the man suffering from love display his wounds to the loved one. But in displaying them the lover transforms himself into an image, an object he presents for the loved one's — and his own — contemplation. He asks her to regard him with the same worshipful eyes with which he regards himself. And now the looks of others do not strip him naked; instead, they clothe him in piety. He has offered himself as a spectacle, asking the spectators to see him as he sees himself, and in so doing he has escaped from the game of love, has saved his true self by replacing it with an image.

Human relationships run the risk, in all lands and ages, of becoming equivocal. This is especially true of love. Narcissism and masochism are not exclusively Mexican traits, but it is notable how often our popular songs and sayings and our everyday behavior treat love as falsehood and betrayal. We almost always evade the perils of a naked relationship by exaggerating our feelings. At the same time, the combative nature of our

eroticism is emphasized and aggravated. Love is an attempt to penetrate another being, but it can only be realized if the surrender is mutual. It is always difficult to give oneself up; few persons anywhere ever succeed in doing so, and even fewer transcend the possessive stage to know love for what it actually is: a perpetual discovery, an immersion in the waters of reality, and an unending re-creation. The Mexican conceives of love as combat and conquest. It is not so much an attempt to penetrate reality by means of the body as it is to violate it. Therefore the image of the fortunate lover — derived, perhaps, from the Spanish Don Juan — is confused with that of the man who deliberately makes use of his feelings, real or invented, to win possession of a woman.

Dissimulation is an activity very much like that of actors in the theater, but the true actor surrenders himself to the role he is playing and embodies it fully, even though he sloughs it off again, like a snake its skin, when the final curtain comes down. The dissembler never surrenders or forgets himself, because he would no longer be dissembling if he became one with his image. But this fiction becomes an inseparable — and spurious — part of his nature. He is condemned to play his role throughout life, since the pact between himself and his impersonation cannot be broken except by death or sacrifice. The lie takes command of him and becomes the very foundation of his personality.

To simulate is to invent, or rather to counterfeit, and thus to evade our condition. Dissimulation requires greater subtlety: the person who dissimulates is not counterfeiting but attempting to become invisible, to pass unnoticed without renouncing his individuality. The Mexican excels at the dissimulation of his passions and himself. He is afraid of others' looks and there-

fore he withdraws, contracts, becomes a shadow, a phantasm, an echo. Instead of walking, he glides; instead of stating, he hints; instead of replying, he mumbles; instead of complaining, he smiles. Even when he sings he does so — unless he explodes, ripping open his breast — between clenched teeth and in a lowered voice, dissimulating his song:

*And so great is the tyranny
of this dissimulation
that although my heart swells
with profoundest longing,
there is challenge in my eyes
and resignation in my voice.*

Perhaps our habit of dissimulating originated in colonial times. The Indians and *mestizos* had to sing in a low voice, as in the poem by Alfonso Reyes, because "words of rebellion cannot be heard well from between clenched teeth." The colonial world has disappeared, but not the fear, the mistrust, the suspicion. And now we disguise not only our anger but also our tenderness. When our country people beg one's pardon, they say: "Pretend it never happened, señor." And we pretend. We dissimulate so eagerly that we almost cease to exist.

In its most radical forms dissimulation becomes mimicry. The Indian blends into the landscape until he is an indistinguishable part of the white wall against which he leans at twilight, of the dark earth on which he stretches out to rest at midday, of the silence that surrounds him. He disguises his human singularity to such an extent that he finally annihilates it and turns into a stone, a tree, a wall, silence, and space. I am not saying that he communes with the All like a pantheist, or that he sees an individual tree as an archetype of all trees, what I am saying is that he actually blends into specific objects

in a concrete and particular way.

Roger Caillois has pointed out that mimicry is not always an attempt to foil the enemies that swarm in the outside world. Insects will sometimes "play dead" or imitate various kinds of decomposed material, out of a fascination for death, for the inertia of space. This fascination — I would call it life's gravitational force — is common to all living things, and the fact that it expresses itself in mimicry shows that we must consider it as something more than an instinctive device for escaping from danger or death.

Mimicry is a change of appearance rather than of nature, and it is significant that the chosen representation is either of death or of inert space. The act of spreading oneself out, of blending with space, of becoming space, is a way of rejecting appearances, but it is also a way of being nothing except Appearance. The Mexican is horrified by appearances, although his leaders profess to love them, and therefore he disguises himself to the point of blending into the objects that surround him. That is, he becomes mere Appearance because of his fear of appearances. He seems to be something other than what he is, and he even prefers to appear dead or nonexistent rather than to change, to open up his privacy. Dissimulation as mimicry, then, is one of the numerous manifestations of our hermeticism. The gesticulator resorts to a mask, and the rest of us wish to pass unnoticed. In either case we hide our true selves, and sometimes deny them. I remember the afternoon I heard a noise in the room next to mine, and asked loudly: "Who is in there?" I was answered by the voice of a servant who had recently come to us from her village: "No one, señor. I am."

We dissimulate in order to deceive ourselves, and turn transparent and phantasmal. But that is not the end of it: we also pretend that our fellow-man does not exist. This is not to say

that we deliberately ignore or discount him. Our dissimulation here is a great deal more radical: we change him from somebody into nobody, into nothingness. And this nothingness takes on its own individuality, with a recognizable face and figure, and suddenly becomes Nobody.

Don No One, who is Nobody's Spanish father, is able, well fed, well respected; he has a bank account, and speaks in a loud, self-assured voice. Don No One fills the world with his empty, garrulous presence. He is everywhere, and has friends everywhere. He is a banker, an ambassador, a businessman. He can be seen in all the salons, and is honored in Jamaica and Stockholm and London. He either holds office or wields influence, and his manner of not-being is aggressive and conceited. On the other hand, Nobody is quiet, timid, and resigned. He is also intelligent and sensitive. He always smiles. He always waits. When he wants to say something, he meets a wall of silence; when he greets someone, he meets a cold shoulder; when he pleads or weeps or cries out, his gestures and cries are lost in the emptiness created by Don No One's interminable chatter. Nobody is afraid not to exist: he vacillates, attempting now and then to become Somebody. Finally, in the midst of his useless gestures, he disappears into the limbo from which he emerged.

It would be a mistake to believe that others prevent him from existing. They simply dissimulate his existence and behave as if he did not exist. They nullify him, cancel him out, turn him to nothingness. It is futile for Nobody to talk, to publish books, to paint pictures, to stand on his head. Nobody is the blankness in our looks, the pauses in our conversations, the reserve in our silences. He is the name we always and inevitably forget, the eternal absentee, the guest we never invite, the emptiness we can never fill. He is an omission, and yet he is forever present. He is our secret, our crime, and our remorse. Thus the person who

Circle of Silence

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creates Nobody, by denying Somebody's existence, is also changed into Nobody. And if we are all Nobody, then none of us exists. The circle is closed and the shadow of Nobody spreads out over our land, choking the Gesticulator and covering everything. Silence — the prehistoric silence, stronger than all the pyramids and sacrifices, all the churches and uprisings and popular songs — comes back to rule over Mexico.

CHAPTER THREE

The Day of the Dead

The solitary Mexican loves fiestas and public gatherings. Any occasion for getting together will serve, any pretext to stop the flow of time and commemorate men and events with festivals and ceremonies. We are a ritual people, and this characteristic enriches both our imaginations and our sensibilities, which are equally sharp and alert. The art of the fiesta has been debased almost everywhere else, but not in Mexico. There are few places in the world where it is possible to take part in a spectacle like our great religious fiestas with their violent primary colors, their bizarre costumes and dances, their fireworks and ceremonies, and their inexhaustible welter of surprises: the fruit, candy, toys and other objects sold on these days in the plazas and open-air markets.

Our calendar is crowded with fiestas. There are certain days when the whole country, from the most remote villages to the largest cities, prays, shouts, feasts, gets drunk and kills, in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe or Benito Juárez. Each year on the fifteenth of September, at eleven o'clock at night, we celebrate the fiesta of the *Grito*¹ in all the plazas of the Republic, and the excited crowds actually shout for a whole hour . . . the better, perhaps, to remain silent for the rest of the year. During the days before and after the twelfth of December,² time comes to a full stop, and instead of pushing us toward a deceptive tomorrow

¹Padre Hidalgo's call-to-arms against Spain, 1810. — Tr.

²Fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe. — Tr.

TOPIC OUTLINE

LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION—A MURDER MYSTERY

- I. Purpose of the paper
- II. Lincoln—before the assassination
 - A. His premonition of approaching death
 1. Dreams
 2. Philosophy
 3. Conversations
 - B. His lack of security protection
 1. Unreliable personal bodyguard
 2. Lock on theater presidential box broken
 3. Peephole bored through box door undetected
 - C. His difficulty in obtaining guests for the performance
 1. Grant to be honored with Lincoln at theater
 2. Grant accepts President's invitation
 3. Grant declines invitation
 4. Lincoln finds himself without guests
- III. The assassination
 - A. A look at the assassin
 - B. Motives for murder
 - C. The shooting
 - D. Stanton's famous last words
- IV. After the assassination
 - A. Booth's escape into Maryland
 1. Passed through guard post
 2. Received medical aid from physician
 3. Hidden by southern sympathizers
 - B. Stanton's lack of co-operation
 1. Refused to give Booth's name to press
 2. Disinterested in capture of John Surrat
 - C. The accomplices
 - D. The trial

The final outline appears in sentence form. Every heading and subdivision is a complete statement.

SENTENCE OUTLINE*

LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION—A MURDER MYSTERY

- I. The purpose of this paper is to identify unexplained events in connection with the death of Abraham Lincoln.
 - A. Records of the assassination reveal gaps and inconsistencies of the events leading up to and following the murder.
 - B. John Wilkes Booth killed Lincoln, but why he did it and the full details of his diabolical plan leave many questions unanswered.
- II. Lincoln had been marked for death by several people during his term in office, but efforts to protect his life went unnoticed.
 - A. Before his death, Lincoln had suspected that he would be killed at the hands of an assassin.
 1. He was extremely melancholy on the day of the shooting, having been troubled by bad dreams.
 2. His philosophy on his own safety reflected a fatalistic attitude.
 3. He said "good-bye" rather than "good night" as he left the White House for the theater.
 - B. The President was not provided with adequate security measures.
 1. The regular guard was dismissed and a discredited police officer was assigned to guard his life.
 - a. Patrolman Parker had been officially reprimanded for drunkenness on several occasions.
 - b. Parker had been found guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer on several occasions.

* See Term Paper pages 1, 2, 3 and note how this sentence outline develops into paragraphs to become a term paper.

Latinos Should Turn Their Attention to Foreign Policy

By FRANK del OLMO

During the current national debate over Reagan Administration policies in Central America, there has been a disturbing silence from one key sector: this country's large Latino community.

A few Latino organizations have taken stands on Central America, of course. The heavily Mexican-American League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) has been critical of President Reagan, while the Cuban-American Foundation has been supportive. But the fact remains that foreign-policy questions simply do not stir the same level of interest among Latino activists that purely domestic issues, like bilingual education and voting rights, do.

A key reason for this is that there is no national Latino organization devoted to foreign-policy issues. The Hispanic Council of Foreign Affairs, established in Washington in 1980, still exists on paper but is inactive. Former members of the group say that it foundered for lack of financial support and because Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Cuban-Americans could rarely agree on foreign-policy positions.

This is unfortunate, because recent history indicates that when Latinos throw themselves into foreign-policy debates with the energy and enthusiasm that they show for domestic political matters they have a significant effect. The most obvious example is the influence that Cuban-Americans have had on the Reagan Administration's hard-line policy toward Cuba and the government of Fidel Castro. The main reason Reagan prodded a reluctant Congress to create Radio Marti, the special broadcasting service that beams news and anti-Castro propaganda into Cuba from Florida, was to fulfill a campaign pledge that he had made to that state's influential Cuban community.

Similarly, lobbying by Mexican-Americans has had a significant effect on immigration laws and policies. In the 1950s and '60s old political groups like the Mexican-American Political Assn. were heavily involved in the successful campaign to kill the *bracero* program, under which Mexican farm workers came into this country as contract laborers. They argued that the program contributed to the exploitation of Mexican workers.

Today, organizations like LULAC and the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund are in the forefront of the efforts to hold back controversial immigration-reform proposals in Congress like the Simpson-Mazzoli legislative measures of 1984 and 1985. The organizations fear that such laws could lead to discrimination against Latinos and other "foreign"-looking and -sounding U.S. citizens.

Of course, an argument can be made that in both of these cases Latino political influence may not reflect the interests of the nation as a whole. But there is a third case of Latino political influence in which U.S. foreign policy was changed for the better.

Almost everyone remembers the Alliance for Progress as one of the hallmarks of the brief but dramatic presidency of John F. Kennedy. A long-range aid and development program for Latin America, the alliance was Kennedy's answer to the challenge posed for the United States and its allies in the region by Castro's revolution in Cuba.

Few Americans know that the initial impetus for *la Alianza* came from Puerto Rico. It was modeled on the campaign by Luis Munoz Marin, a revered former governor, to modernize the island's economy after World War II. Munoz Marin called his program Operation Bootstrap, and under its aegis he gave the island a modern infrastructure and an impressive educational system in an effort to encourage investment in Puerto Rico by mainland corporations.

There is still debate in Puerto Rico concerning whether Operation Bootstrap was as successful as it could have been. But Puerto Ricans are clearly better off today than they would have been without it. And when Munoz Marin and his political allies in the Democratic Party convinced Kennedy that Operation Bootstrap was a model for Latin America, they gave hope to an entire generation of progressive leaders, such as Venezuela's Romulo Betancourt and Costa Rica's Luis Figueres, who were trying to build democratic alternatives to Castro's Cuba and right-wing dictatorships like the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua.

The Alliance for Progress is still fondly remembered throughout Latin America as a high point of U.S. relations with the region. It represented the United States' first official recognition that its security interests in the Western Hemisphere could be guaranteed not just through military power but also with social progress. And it might never have happened without the political influence of Puerto Ricans.

Many thoughtful Latinos in this country fear that an organizational effort to influence U.S. policy toward Latin America is bound to fail as the Hispanic Council on Foreign Affairs did. Perhaps. But the examples of Munoz Marin, Operation Bootstrap and the Alliance for Progress stand as reasons for giving it another try.

Frank del Olmo is a Times editorial writer.

LAT 4/10/86

Joe Bustillos

Communication Skills

1. Anathema E
2. Ecumenical J
3. Nirvana C
4. Schism F
5. Scruple G
6. Karma H
7. Sacrosanct D
- 8.) Secular) I
- 9.) Mantra H
- 10.) Apostasy B

- ~~a.)~~ fate, destiny.
- ~~b.)~~ abandoning what one believed.
- ~~c.)~~ A state of perfect blessedness or bliss.
- ~~d.)~~ Very holy, sacred.
- ~~e.)~~ greatly detested, hatred.
- ~~f.)~~ A split, separation.
- ~~g.)~~ A doubt to what is fair.
- ~~h.)~~ a chant.
- ~~i.)~~ Worldly, not bound by a vow.
- ~~j.)~~ Worldwide religious unity.

The Contemporary Chicano Family

It is no accident that social science depictions of the Chicano, whether they involve the family or some other area, are almost inevitably pejorative and/or pathological, for they reinforce and legitimate the lowly status of Chicanos. . . . The myth of the Mexican-American family, then, is a useful myth in blaming the problems and oppression of Chicanos on themselves.

—Alfredo Mirandé and Evangelina Enríquez, *La Chicana: The Mexican-American Woman*, pp. 115–116.

THE STUDY OF THE present-day Chicano or Mexican-American family is a subject complicated by a lack of satisfactory theories, methodologies, and data. One indication of this is the inevitable academic debate that arises when deciding what terminology to use in describing the group. In this chapter I have used the term "Chicano" interchangeably with "Mexican American." Of the two words, "Chicano" probably has the widest usage as a self-referent (see Appendix B). Just as those working in the general field of family studies, those working on Chicano subjects have not evolved an acceptable framework to describe, much less explain, the psychological subtleties and changing realities of family life.

Contemporary researchers are attempting to move beyond the stereotypical and simplistic approaches which characterize much of the early literature. As yet, however, there has been no attempt to integrate historical approaches into a general description of family life. Most sociological and psychological models of family life have been differentiated into normal vs. pathogenic types rather than being focused on the adaptive processes that characterize all human cultures.

THE SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE: 1945-1960

After World War II social scientists turned their attention more and more to Spanish-speaking families in the United States. Prior to the 1960s researchers like Clyde Kluckhohn, William Madsen, Arthur Rubel, Cecilia Heller, and Margaret Clark published influential studies that probed Mexican-American social life. A number of other investigators summarized what were thought to be the main characteristics of Mexican-American families. A covert and sometimes not so hidden assumption of many of these early postwar studies was that the ethnic family was somehow responsible for preventing the full assimilation of Mexicans into American society. They implicitly considered the acculturation of middle-class Anglo-American values as an inevitable process. Consequently they evaluated the ethnic familial behaviors and attitudes among Mexican Americans as being less desirable and possibly even pathological when contrasted with those of other Americans.

This new interest in Mexican-American families coincided with the rapid urbanization of Spanish-speaking minorities in eastern and western cities and a massive postwar surge in Mexican immigration, two demographic events which were to have long-term effects on American society. The first movement, that of urbanization, transformed the ambiance of inner-city life and eventually had political consequences as Mexicanos came to displace some older populations in metropolitan regions. In the postwar years Mexican Americans became a national urban minority. They were the fastest urbanizing group in the United States. Three-fourths of the increase of the Mexican-American urban population took place in large metropolitan areas. Los Angeles and San Antonio, in particular, reached critical masses in their Spanish-speaking populations by the 1970s. This in turn created a demographic basis for a political and social revitalization movement, the birth of "Chicanismo," a new pride in the history and culture of Mexicanos in the United States.¹

The second demographic trend that promised to change American society and have international consequences as well was a new surge of Mexican immigration. Between 1945 and 1960 Mexican immigration reached unprecedented proportions. More than five million new immigrants entered the United States as legal immigrants, braceros, and undocumented workers (see Table 23). To put this movement into perspective, it is necessary only to note that during the twenty years after World War II more Mexican immigrants entered the United States than had come during the previous one hundred years. Due to changes in United States immigration laws much of this immigration, perhaps a majority of it, was illegal. This meant that increasing numbers of Mexican Americans in the cities lived in constant fear of appre-

hension, subject to extortion and to unbelievable exploitation. It also meant that due to this proliferating source of cheap labor the Sun-Belt states took the lead in national economic growth.

Unfortunately most of the research that was conducted on the Mexican-American family during these years ignored or tended to de-emphasize the important demographic changes which were taking place in the urban Southwest. Most studies were of Mexican Americans in rural or small towns or in cities with relatively static Mexican-American populations (see Table 24). The approach taken in these works tended to bias the portrait of the Chicano family in the direction of static and traditional cultures. Often they viewed the Mexican-American family in terms of exotic varieties or anachronistic survivals. Patriarchy, archaic child-rearing practices, *curanderismo* (faith and herb healing), Catholic folk customs, and a host of other rural cultural practices were seen as root causes responsible for the lack of the Mexican American's social and economic progress.

Actually, few of these postwar investigations focused specifically on the Mexican-American family. Rather, they treated the family as part of a

TABLE 23

Mexican Immigration, 1945-1960

Year	Legal Entrants	Aliens Apprehended or Deported
1945	6,455	80,760
1946	6,805	116,320
1947	7,775	214,543
1948	8,730	193,543
1949	7,977	289,400
1950	8,321	469,581
1951	6,372	510,355
1952	9,600	531,719
1953	18,454	839,149
1954	37,456	1,035,282
1955	50,772	165,186
1956	65,047	58,792
1957	49,154	45,640
1958	26,712	45,164
1959	23,061	42,732
1960	32,084	39,750

Note: These figures are not to be taken as an accurate count of the total immigrant flow, since apprehensions and deportations represent only a fraction—perhaps one-sixth—of the total undocumented entrants. Also the apprehensions reflect the changing enforcement policies of the Border Patrol.

Source: Stanley R. Ross, *Flows Across the Border: The United States and Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978), pp. 166-167.

complex social problem. Margaret Clark and Ari Kiev studied community health; Cecilia Heller, gangs and juvenile delinquency; and William Madsen and Arthur Rubel, rural poverty in the border region. Those researchers who

TABLE 24

Social Science Literature Dealing with the Mexican-American Family, 1945-1960

1. Cecilia Heller, *Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads* (New York: Random House, 1966).

Area and Focus of Research:

Mexican-American youth in Los Angeles

2. Margaret Clark, *Health in the Mexican American Culture* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1959).

Area and Focus of Research:

Sal Si Puedes barrio in San Jose, California

3. Ari Kiev, *Curanderismo: Mexican American Folk Psychiatry* (New York: Free Press, 1968).

Area and Focus of Research:

Curandero clients in San Antonio

4. William Madsen, *Mexican Americans of South Texas* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1963).

Area and Focus of Research:

McAllen, Texas (Hidalgo County)

5. Arthur Rubel, *Across the Tracks: Mexican Americans in a Texas City* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1966).

Area and Focus of Research:

New Lots (Mission, Texas), the Mexiquino barrio

6. Julian Samora and Richard Lamanna, *Mexican Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago* (Mexican American Study Project, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, U.C.L.A., 1967).

Area and Focus of Research:

East Chicago, Illinois

7. Norman Humphrey, "The Changing Structure of the Detroit Mexican Family: An Index of Acculturation," *American Sociological Review* 9, no. 6 (1944), pp. 622-626.

Area and Focus of Research:

Detroit, Michigan

8. Roland Tharp et al., "Changes in Marriage Roles Accompanying the Acculturation of the Mexican American Wife," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 30 (August 1968), pp. 404-412.

Area and Focus of Research:

Tucson Mexican-American Women

Note: The above is not intended to be an exhaustive listing of the social science literature bearing on the Mexican-American family published in this period.

studied the urban Mexican-American populations did not deal with the full range of personal and familial experience but only with selected segments of the Spanish-speaking community (barrio youth for Heller, the *Sal Si Puedes* barrio in San Jose for Clark, *curandero* clients in San Antonio for Kiev, and Tucson women for Tharp et al.). There was no systematic attempt to analyze the diversity in family life-styles in metropolitan areas of the Southwest. A few investigators studied urban barrios in the Midwest. They were mainly interested in the process of familial acculturation (Samora and Lamana), but they gave little attention to the ways in which the Mexican Americans of this region differed from those of the urban Southwest. In general, regional and economic class variations were not issues of concern. The tendency was for the researchers to de-emphasize the heterogeneous nature of urban Mexican-American society.

During the 1970s an emerging group of Chicano social scientists began to question the methodologies and assumptions of this postwar literature. The critics pointed out that many of the previous studies had been biased by an uncritical acceptance of a unidirectional acculturation model. As Lea Ybarra pointed out:

Social scientists were aided in perpetuating negative stereotypes and in furthering ethnocentric, value laden attitudes by utilizing a model of acculturation which readily allowed them to make assumptions and conclusions of other cultures based on their own societal norms and values.²

Others attacked the exaggerated importance that had been ascribed to *machismo*. The researchers of the 1960s had, almost unanimously, accepted the cult of male superiority as an explanation for the dynamics and pathologies of family life. Similarly the postwar researchers accepted the patriarchal family as being solely responsible for the underachievement of Chicano children. Many critics of the 70s felt that the older literature had exaggerated and distorted certain aspects of Chicano family life. Alfredo Mirandé summarized the "tangle of pathology" that the old research assumed to arise due to family dynamics:

It [the Mexican-American family] propagates the subordination of women; impedes individual achievement, engenders passivity and dependence, stifles normal personality development and, on occasion, even gives rise to incestuous feelings among siblings.³

Basically the Chicano social scientists argued that more empirical research needed to be done, that Chicano family studies should be more cautious about stereotypes and generalizations, and that future research should take into account the diversity of family experience.

In 1970, at the very time that these calls for more objective research were being raised, a major research project, conducted by U.C.L.A.'s Graduate School of Business, resulted in the publication of *The Mexican-American People* by Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph Guzmán. This massive study while reflecting some of the methodologies and assumptions that had been criticized by Chicano social scientists, promised to break new ground in the study of the family. It was based on large representative samples of urban populations. The research team formed their conclusions after conducting in-depth interviews and gathering survey data in Los Angeles and San Antonio.

The major conclusions reached by Grebler et al. with respect to the Mexican-American urban families were as follows:

- ✓ (1) Only 3 to 4 percent of the urban families lived in extended-family households, "disproving the notion that Mexican Americans are familistic enough to establish joint households in an urban setting."
- ✓ (2) *Compadrazgo* was no longer a major familial reality among urban families: "although still viable, [*compadrazgo*] appears to be a minor feature of kinship and community social organization in the major urban centers."
- ✓ (3) There was little difference between Mexican-American and other families with respect to the degree of familial help given to its members. Kinship support was greatest among high-income Mexican Americans living outside the barrio.
- (4) A high proportion of broken homes existed. Almost one-third of the sample respondents stated that they had been reared by one parent.
- (5) There was a wide divergence between the ideal of patriarchal authority in decision-making and the actual practice of joint decision-making within urban families. Deviations from the ideal of patriarchy were greatest among the younger second- and third-generation Mexican Americans. *Machismo* was not a salient characteristic of ethnic family life but was related more to geographic segregation and socioeconomic class status.
- (6) A close study of parents' attitudes toward the ideal child revealed that there was no significant difference in the educational goals desired. Parents expected that, for both boys and girls, a good education would be one of strict discipline.⁴

Many of the hypotheses raised by Grebler et al. in *The Mexican-American People* have yet to be tested by other social scientists. The finding of a high proportion of broken homes and family instability, for example, has not been pursued by subsequent research. Consequently, we do not know the ex-

et social meaning of this finding. Our analysis of household composition from the previous century suggests this phenomenon may well be a long-term phenomenon, most likely the result of endemic poverty and job insecurity. A close study of the class and generational variations in broken homes may reveal other factors that have had historical precedents. Grebler's view that patriarchal values and the ideal of family stability were myths that existed because of "weaknesses in both the family structure and the male role" has not been clarified or challenged by the most recent research. Indeed, the whole area of family ideology is fertile ground for further investigations.

Our findings for the nineteenth century suggest that the gap between familial expectations and day-to-day reality may always have been an important characteristic of family life. Certainly the idealization of sex roles and paternal authority stems from the historical culture, just as the forces that create family instability are the result of long-term urban and industrial processes. The gap between what is believed to exist and what in fact is encountered in everyday life may provide psychologically oriented researchers with a clue to understanding mental health problems in a family context. But explaining the consequences of this conflict will also have to take into consideration that it has existed at least since the nineteenth century.

Recent research tends to confirm rather than challenge the conclusions reached in *The Mexican-American People*. Jaime Sena-Rivera's study of extended kinship among a sample of midwestern urban Chicanos found that residential extended-family households were almost nonexistent. He emphasized, however, that the *casa* (household) expression of familism was less important in Mexican-American culture than the kinship networks outside the home (*familia*). *La familia* was an all-encompassing term describing a variety of relatives and *compadres*, most of whom lived close by and rendered mutual aid. Rivera concluded that *compadrazgo* was a dying institution. It was "insignificant for viable *familia* structure." A much more important feature of contemporary family life was volunteerism. "In no instance . . . did authority appear among adults where it did not seem to rest upon voluntary asking and receiving guidance for behavior, even for children in regard to promoting family interaction norms."⁶

The hypothesis that Mexican-American families are not strictly speaking patriarchal in decision-making has found support in a number of other studies. A 1975 survey of seventy-six farm-labor families in California, many of which consisted of urban migrants, concluded that egalitarian decision-making and action-taking was the predominant norm.⁷ A 1977 study found that marital satisfaction was highest among those families where there were egalitarian power relationships. Generally class rather than ethnicity was important in explaining a couple's satisfaction in marriage, with lower-class

couples being less satisfied when the wife was working than in the case of middle- and upper-class couples.⁸

Maxine Baca Zinn has undertaken perhaps the most sophisticated analysis of the complex interaction of culture, the economy, and changing women's roles. She found that Mexican-American families were mixed with regard to "traditional" and "modern" values. The ideals of patriarchy mediated how much power women exercised within marriage, but these ideals were not the sole determinates of their status. Where women worked outside the home, they had more power in their relationship to their husbands. In these households "their families were less male dominant but not less male authoritarian."⁹ Baca Zinn concluded that cultural norms of male authority were important but not overriding in influencing decision-making within families. While retaining patriarchal values and ideals, these families of working women also demonstrated egalitarian decision-making and shared conjugal power. Thus ethnicity, more specifically ethnic culture, was important but not singularly so in understanding the texture of daily life.¹⁰

Since the Grebler study in 1970 several researchers have produced findings demonstrating that family solidarity among Mexican Americans is more than just an ideal or a myth. There has been a growing sophistication in defining familism and family solidarity. In comparison to other groups Mexican Americans have been found to have greater behavioral familism. One study of 666 Mexican Americans and 340 Anglo-Americans in Southern California cities found that Mexican Americans of the second and third generations tended to score higher on measures of familism. This difference was most related to ethnicity.¹¹ A similar finding has been reported for Chicano families in San Jose, California, where kinship networks among Chicanos were significantly larger than those of other ethnic groups. And in Kansas City, Missouri, Mexican Americans were found to exhibit a greater degree of familistic behavior than others, including blacks.¹²

The familistic behavior and the pervasiveness of family solidarity as an ideology seem to be greater among the native-born Mexican Americans than among Mexican immigrants. Emerging research, which is using the rich data gathered by the National Chicano Research Network, suggests that familism among Mexican Americans is a complex multidimensional phenomenon with many intervening variables. Preliminary findings indicate that native-born Chicanos demonstrate more behavioral familism than do the Mexican-born, even when controlling for the numbers of kin residing in the area.¹³ The same preliminary finding using the NCRN data was reported by Oscar Ramirez with regard to the prevalence of extended-family support and mental health.¹⁴ These findings have historic parallels with what has been found in the nineteenth century. Residential extended-family households were more common

among the native-born than among other Americans and Mexican immigrants. The historical continuity of patterns of familistic behavior, although expressed differently today, suggests the persistent effects of cultural values and socioeconomic pressures. They also indicate a need to examine in more detail the concepts of family solidarity held in Mexico as well as the reasons why the native-born Mexican Americans historically tend to have more cohesive family-support systems.

INTERMARRIAGE

Intermarriage among Mexican Americans since 1945 seems to have increased, at least in those few metropolitan areas that have been studied thus far. For Los Angeles in the middle 1960s Moore and Middelbach reported that "40 percent of the marriages involving Mexican Americans were exogamous, and that 25 percent of the Mexican-American individuals married outside their ethnic group."¹⁵ As was true in the nineteenth century, women were more exogamous than men, and the second and third generations were more likely to intermarry with non-Chicanos than the first. Those of higher socioeconomic standing also were more likely to intermarry than those from the lower classes. A major change from the past was that the third-generation men and women were "more likely to marry 'Anglos' than to marry immigrants from Mexico."¹⁶ In 1960 Bean and Bradshaw observed considerably lower rates of exogamy in San Antonio. Twenty percent of all marriages with at least one partner of Spanish surname were of a mixed type. Ten years earlier, in 1950, this proportion had been 16.6 percent. Both these rates of intermarriage in San Antonio were much higher than those measured in the nineteenth century. Bean and Bradshaw hypothesized that the reason for the increase in intermarriage was lessening of ethnic barriers. Another explanation, one linked to the changing demography of San Antonio, would be that Mexican Americans felt more secure in their social and political status.¹⁷

While the rates of intermarriage in both Los Angeles and San Antonio were higher in the postwar period than previously, they still showed a surprising continuity with the patterns from the previous century. One hundred years earlier Los Angeles had had a consistently higher rate of intermarriage than San Antonio. That this difference persists to this day points to the reality of regional, economic, and cultural differences in relations between the groups in the Southwest.

Edward Murguía has recently studied intermarriage in both its historical and contemporary aspects. He found that historical rates of intermarriage varied considerably according to geographical region. The climate of prejudice against exogamy has varied according to locale. Overall he concluded that there was "a clear trend of increasing outmarriage over time" but that high

rates had stabilized in such places as Bernalillo County (New Mexico) and Southern California.¹⁸ Intermarriage rates have always been lowest, although increasing over time, in Texas and highest in California.

One of the contributions Murguía has made to our understanding of intermarriage is his development of the concept of "breaking of ties." This is an attempt to conceive of intermarriage from the perspective of both the minority and majority individual's point of view and move beyond an assimilationist model. From his theoretical perspective both majority and minority individuals are conceived as being tied to their respective groups by bonds of family and community relationships. His concern is to study those factors that are related to "breaking the ties" from both groups. He found that many of the same forces that operated to break the ties of majority individuals to their group were also important for Chicanos. Among these were the influence of the American school system, the church, military service, and geographical mobility.¹⁹ Murguía hypothesized that intermarriage could result in at least four kinds of familial outcomes: (1) marriages where ethnicity was not emphasized; (2) the involvement of the majority partner in the culture of the minority partner; (3) the independence of each partner, with each continuing to be responsive to his/her culture; and (4) "blended intermarriage," where both partners attempted to participate equally in each culture.²⁰ Murguía's conclusion regarding intermarriage and its effect on the cohesion of Chicano culture is this: given the absence of increased prejudice resulting from international events or economic depressions, intermarriage will probably continue to slowly increase. His closing statement is worth restating:

Increased acceptance by the majority and upward social mobility of Chicanos lead to cultural and structural assimilation and to intermarriage. This results in a loss of ethnic cohesion and a loss of ethnic language and culture, not a desirable state of affairs for many Chicanos. Cultural maintenance in an open society will be one of the major issues to be faced by Chicanos in the future.²¹

In 1980 the United States Bureau of the Census' *Current Population Survey* reported that the rate of Mexican-American exogamy in the five southwestern states, over a five-year period 1976-1980, had declined for females but had increased for males. In the five states male exogamy rose from 12.3 percent in 1970 to 13.5 percent, while female exogamy declined from 13.4 percent to 11.9 percent. The data were not available for metropolitan or nonmetropolitan regions, but in the Midwest and Northeast, where Mexican Americans are predominantly urban, the rates of intermarriage were almost triple those in the Southwest. Midwestern Mexican Americans had a five-year average of 36.9 for males and 39.4 for females (see Table 25).²²

As refined data on exogamy among urban Mexican Americans is made

available from the 1980 census, we will be able better to interpret various factors that explain these trends. At this juncture it appears that there no longer is a large differential between male and female exogamy and that marriage barriers between the two groups have become less, at least in urban areas. The demographic factors tending to promote exogamy have intensified since 1945, namely, the coming of age of a large Spanish-surnamed population of the third generation. This group is more affluent, better educated, and more acculturated than the Mexican-immigrant and second-generation population. Further research will probably show that it is this group which is intermarrying most.

As the European-immigrant population has become increasingly assimilated and as larger numbers of Mexican immigrants have flooded the barrio, it seems that more and more Mexican Americans of the second and third generation have come to marry non-Chicanos rather than Mexican immigrants. In the nineteenth century a third-generation Mexican-heritage population hardly existed, except among the Hispanos of New Mexico, a group which did not consider itself of Mexican nationality or culture. The continued flow of Mexican immigrants into the southwestern cities after 1880 has assured a constant growth of second- and third-generation families. If these families continue to live and work in metropolitan areas, and if political and economic conditions are favorable, intermarriage rates will probably continue to increase.

TABLE 25

Rates of Exogamy, 1976-1980
(expressed as a percentage)

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Five-Year Average
United States						
Males	14.6	15.0	14.4	17.5	17.6	15.9
Females	17.3	16.4	14.1	18.1	16.8	16.5
Five Southwestern States						
Males	12.3	11.6	11.0	13.0	13.5	12.3
Females	13.4	11.9	11.3	13.8	11.9	12.5
Non-Southwest						
Males	23.7	39.3	36.0	43.5	37.1	36.9
Females	37.1	45.3	32.9	43.2	38.5	39.4

Source: From U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States 1976-1980*, P-20, nos. 310, 329, 339, 354; in *La Red*, no. 52 (March 1982), p. 3.

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

In reading over the sociological literature, both empirical and nonempirical, that has been produced since the 1970s it is evident that a more sophisticated understanding of Chicano families is emerging. At the same time the complexities involved in analyzing the family life of a population, which is experiencing rapid change, make it difficult to be confident that we will ever approach certitude regarding the exact nature of the processes of family life. The qualitative dimensions of the family experience continue to elude social investigators, despite a massive, and somewhat cumbersome, methodological tradition and rapidly proliferating sources of empirical data. The sociological imagination, with its propensity to think in terms of multivariate designs, cross-sectional research, models, and ideal types, has yet to account for multifaceted day-to-day reality.

It appears that a satisfactory understanding of the Mexican-American family will be impossible unless we are able to explain the psychological and social processes of immigration and acculturation. These two processes continue to be at the heart of the Mexican-American family experience. Yet the exponentially growing literature on Mexican immigration remains keyed to economic and political considerations. It will contribute little toward our understanding of familial and personal dynamics.

At any given point in time a large segment of the urban Spanish-speaking families in the nation is composed of recent, temporary, and long-term, immigrants from Mexico. This group increasingly is from large- and middle-size Mexican cities, and thus they have had a prior experience with urban life-styles and cultures. These immigrants are Mexican in their familial orientations. The social meaning of this statement is made ambiguous by the increased economic development of Mexico as well as the spread of American influence south of the border. Compared to the pre-1945 experience, it seems probable that most immigrant families have less of a jump to make between Mexican and American cultures than did their ancestors. The Mexican dimension to Chicano family experience will probably always be important: quantitatively in terms of the numbers of people who are transitional and thus psychologically marginal in terms of the intermarriage, contacts, visiting, and "doubling up" which occurs between Mexican Americans and Mexicans.

Perhaps the most promising approach to understanding the multifaceted dimensions of family life-style of the Mexican immigrant and the native-born is a developmental perspective. This approach allows researchers to account for the influence of individual life events and long-term historical and cultural changes. This methodology has been advocated by a number of public-health researchers. From their perspective it is crucial to know more about how the

family mediates the life crises of individual members, in particular the Mexican immigrant, since poverty and immigration are seen as being responsible for a good deal of family instability, which is in turn related to poor mental and physical health.²³ What is so far missing from their approach is an appreciation of how Mexican Americans have historically coped with health problems in a changing sociocultural environment.

THE CHICANO FAMILY—MODERN OR POSTMODERN?

It is easier to call for the use of history in contemporary family research than to carry out such a project. One contribution social historians can make to such a task is to indicate those features of family life that have had a long history as opposed to those being of recent origin. History can place contemporary family life within a perspective of centuries of gradual change as well as documenting the long-term conflict between cultural ideals and economic realities.

Laurence Stone, an English historian of the family, has identified the major structural and affective features of the modern type of family as arising over three centuries ago. He has argued that the main features of the contemporary middle-class family arose concomitantly with the growth of capitalism between 1500 and 1800. This new bourgeois family was characterized by increased individualism. Relations between the husband, wife, and children were invested with more egalitarian and emotional meaning. Simultaneously families expressed their need for privacy and increasingly withdrew from the controls of a communal society. A hedonistic individualism in the selection of marriage partners, along with the erosion of patriarchal controls and values, emerged first within the families of the bourgeois. Stability, at least in outward appearance, was a hallmark of this new middle-class family. By folk custom the poorer classes were able to divorce and remarry with relative ease. In the late seventeenth century the very rich were able to obtain legal divorces by special governmental action. But this avenue was too expensive for the middle classes. In Stone's words, marital divorce was "impossible for the great majority of the middle class who could not afford the cost." Stone's key point was that the familial transition between the preindustrial and the modern era was a stratified one. Changes in the family occurred at different rates within the various social and economic classes.²⁴

In recent years some historians and sociologists have prophesied the decline of the nuclear middle-class family and the rise of new configurations in family life. Edward Shorter, for example, has argued that since World War II, most particularly since 1960, there has emerged a postmodern family type. This family is a product of a new social consciousness emerging during the 1960s: increased emphasis on woman's rights within and outside the family,

a new interest in urban community, and a "systematic devaluation of the 'nest notion' of nuclear family life."²⁵ Symptoms of these changes have been the startling increase in teenage pregnancies, an unprecedented rise in the divorce rate, an open discussion of the availability and desirability of birth control and abortion, a revolution in sexual values promoted by the media, and delayed marriages and child birth with couples establishing nontraditional families in the interim.

Where do Chicano families fit within the variegated panorama of Western family history? Mexican Americans are one of many historic ethnic groups in a world society. An ethnic group can be defined as "a group with shared feelings of people-hood" or attachments to others formed out of perceived commonalities of religion, race, or national origin. Ethnic groups are further supported as a result of cultural, psychological, and historical "ties" binding individuals to each other. Ethnic group identity has often been strengthened because of socioeconomic, regional, religious, linguistic, or racial prejudices within the larger society.²⁶

The persistence of ethnic identity despite considerable pressures for conformity testifies to its continued importance in human affairs. The persistence of ethnic groups may be a functional response as well. Ethnicity has provided more meaningful relationships in an increasingly depersonalized urban industrial society. Ethnicity has fostered new avenues for achievement and success within small groups, created a basis for political and interest-group organization, and explained the meaning of the larger society to those of a particular cultural heritage. In all this the family has been central to the transmission and perpetuation of ethnic culture, mediating how individuals are socialized into the group. The ethnic family has interpreted the group's history and life experience for the individual. It has provided the definition of the world; the aspirations, values, and life-styles that have made up the core of ethnic culture.

In American society Mexican Americans, blacks, and American Indians are more than cultural groups. They are also historically oppressed "ethnolasses." An ethnolass may be defined as a subsociety "created by the intersection of the vertical stratification of ethnicity with the horizontal stratification of social class."²⁷ An ethnolass is defined by a coincidence of ethnic and socioeconomic status.

It has been a characteristic of American society that the ethnolass structure of Mexican Americans, along with that of other groups, has been skewed in the direction of low social and economic status, so that a preponderance of families have been more heavily concentrated in the low socioeconomic strata than has been true for other ethnic groups.

For all American ethnics of European origin the overall historical pattern has been a generational movement into the middle classes and out of the

ethnic enclaves. For structural and racial reasons, however, nonwhite groups have not participated in this movement as a group. From the vantage point of the centuries, America has had a permanent ethelass of black, American Indian, and Hispanic origin families.

Since the vast majority of Chicano families have not been middle class, they have not been part of the broad social world of the modern or post-modern family. Most Mexican-American families have been isolated culturally as well as economically from the sweeping changes that have been at work among the middle class. This has been less true, however, since World War II, when mass media and consumerism brought about a superficial integration of the general population. While the middle-class Mexican-American family is subject to increasing assimilative pressures, it is still linked to older ethnic traditions.²⁸

It is stating the obvious to say that Mexican-American families are subject to influences emanating from many areas. Their families seem to have always been characterized by a mixture of attitudes, styles, and practices. In the nineteenth century Mexican frontier families adapted Iberian and central Mexican culture to unique circumstances. With the influx of Americans into the Southwest new influences, largely negative in terms of social stability, were introduced. In the twentieth century, with a constant renewal by Mexican immigration, Mexican-American families have continued to combine "traditional" values with more modern ones. Thus, present-day Chicano families are a bridge between the social and cultural heritages of Anglo and Latin America. The contemporary Mexican-American family's experience touches on some of the most fundamental issues of American society: immigration and urban acculturation, marginalization, discrimination and self-determination, and the importance of class and race in the individual experience. Finally, the contemporary Chicano family embodies the past as well as the future of American society.

CHAPTER 9

Continuities and Changes Since 1848

The Chicano family exists within a complex urban-industrial society and is subject to many of the same pressures and sources of influence as the Anglo-American family. Nonetheless, it has certain distinguishing characteristics, some of which have remained in tact since pre-Columbian days.

—Alfredo Mirandé and Evangelina Enríquez, *La Chicana: The Mexican-American Woman*, p. 107.

THIS BOOK HAS ATTEMPTED to present a historical view of a limited number of subjects that may be relevant to understanding the private lives of individuals. There are, of course, a larger number of topics that remain for future research. Others may want to go beyond what has been presented here and explore the ways in which the historical evolution of legal and political systems has affected family life; the influence of language and changing community identities; the changing popular culture as it has influenced tides of sentiment and ideology; the evolution of family life as expressed in art forms, literature, and music; the influence of labor and community organizations on the ethnic family and vice versa; educational changes affecting children and socialization processes; the influence of cataclysmic events such as wars and depressions; the long-term effects of racial prejudice and poverty on family life. Each of these topics is a subject for study.

The story of the evolution of the Chicano family seems to take place against a backdrop of progressive and increasingly successful attempts on the part of the majority American society to force Mexicans into a dynamic and ever-changing vision of urban America. Mexicans would have to have been stones not to have been affected by over 150 years of contact, conflict, and coresidence in industrial America. As the twentieth century draws to a close, the assimilation process looms as more and more an issue for the Chicano family.

3/19 Chic 102

Challenge Stereotype

- Catholic
- patriarchy
- gang related
- 2 parents home
- cutters/cut.
- mysticism
- extended family
- machismo

comp. producer

Simplistic - Rural

Stereotypical model

Ruiterz → too narrow → subject bias - too narrow &
never looking for negative reasons

forced volunteer
assimilation/aculturation

"why is hex-amer.
poor?"

pathology of the ethnic
family

40s-60s investigation
of the family:

"The marginal man" -
Malinowski

Study of the incest taboo -
cultural defined / cross-cultural
universal

"just about"

more de- larger cross-section - more true -
Picture of large concept.

Conclusion - more oppressed

Culture = poverty ← → affluence (→ not true)

but (socioeconomics)
poverty → Culture

(poverty impacts culture) - what

is the determinant
of behavior.

Chen's family from -
socioeconomic factors rather than
via the cultural forms

The feet of the humblest
may walk in the fields
Where the feet of holiest
have trod.
This is the marvel to
mortals revealed,
When the silvery trumpets
of Christmas have pealed,
That humankind are the
Children of God
- Philip Brooks

Culture is an imperial sense - broad
~~cross-section~~ - rural/urban/old/young
multiple generations

inter-marriage - socioeconomic - along
social class not necessarily
Person



social mobility effect on intermarriage =
where on poverty scale = more often in
marriage game.

choice \leftarrow not ascribed to poverty
choice to standard of living.

The feet of the humblest
may walk in the fields
Where the feet of holiest
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This, this is the marvel to
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When the silvery trumpets
of Christmas have pealed,
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Children of God
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FROM INDIANS TO CHICANOS

A Socio cultural History

JAMES D. VIGIL

INTRODUCTION

The Chicano people comprise the second-largest ethnic minority in the United States, numbering anywhere from 8 to 15 million, if one includes undocumented immigrant workers. In several areas of the American Southwest, which some Chicano activists call *Aztlán* after the legendary Aztec name for the region, they are in the majority. Indeed, some of these people's ancestors inhabited the Southwest long before its incorporation into the United States. On the other hand, there are Chicanos who are offspring of recent immigrants from Mexico, often maintaining contacts with close relatives in that country. Although the ethnic label "Mexican-American" is still used by many people who take pride in being American, the recent trend appears to favor the Mexican background and thus the name "Chicano."*

WHY A DYNAMIC HISTORY?

There are several reasons why a historical interpretation of the Chicano is needed. Although many standard histories are available, few works attempt to deal with many of the crucial issues integrally linked to modern Chicano characteristics. Most writers on the Southwest spend more time discussing Indian conditions than those of the Chicano. Not surprisingly, Mexican authors are more concerned with what is happening in Mexico. Chicanos, as the "in-between" people, are either completely ignored or given a quick, cursory treatment. As we shall see, their experience is so

* The ethnic label Chicano has many definitions (Nostrand 1975:159-160). A more colloquial usage is that it is a shortened form of Mexican. In this text it is used to reflect the multiple-heritage experience of Mexicans in the United States. Although other labels appropriate to the time period or situation are utilized—that is, Indian, Spanish, Mexican, Anglo, or Mexican-American—it is important to note that a Chicano perspective draws from any or all of these cultural orientations to fashion a broader adaptation. The political consciousness-raising events of the 1960's helped develop an appreciation of their multicultural heritage. The term Chicano will be used throughout most of the text because the text is a look backward to trace the historical development of a contemporary people.

complex and marked with the stigma of lower socioeconomic status that a more careful interpretative assessment is demanded. In other words, Chicano membership in the class of poor people in this country has tended to blur important features of their sociocultural background.

How have the past four centuries treated the Chicano people? To answer that question we must first state what we know. A series of migrations and settlements, first by the Spanish and then by the Anglo-Americans have been major influences in molding the contemporary character of Chicanos (Moore 1973). In addition, their early ancestors, the indigenous people provided them with a rich cultural foundation. (The ethnic label Chicano is a derivative of the Aztec tribal name Mexica, with the "x" pronounced like "ch.") Most of the facts concerning these historical influences are readily available and easily understood.

However, describing the outcome of the merging of Old and New World cultural styles presents a perplexing problem. What was the result of this merging? Were Chicanos forged from that experience? To what degree can one determine the portion of each culture in the mixture? Even more problematic, which Chicano cultural features belong to one group or the other, and which are a synthesis? These questions continue to plague students and researchers alike, as they probe to uncover the complex issues shaping the Chicano people (Trejo 1979; Heisler 1977).

This sociocultural history attempts to resolve some of these issues. In addition, it will introduce new insights into old problems and add a dynamic approach to assessing the Chicano experience (Nisbet 1969). The narrative chronologically highlights important events, people, and the internal dynamics of change. It begins with pre-Columbian Mexico and focuses on over four centuries of problems arising from the struggle for control of land, labor, and consequent wealth between the conquering Europeans and their successors on the one hand, and the indigenous majority population on the other (Frazier 1957:32). Not the least of the problems to be illuminated will be the psychological consequences of the suppression suffered by the Chicano people over these many years. The text will examine how indigenous peoples adapted to new social systems and how social systems also changed.

TWO CONCEPTUAL AIDS—STAGES OF HUMAN MATURATION AND SIX C's MODEL

Two devices are utilized in this text to aid comprehension of such a long, complex epic. One technique is to look at the evolution of the Chicano people by using different stages of human growth to represent each historical

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PAGES OF HUMAN ODEL

to aid comprehension of such
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cal period. This illustrative method is not to be interpreted literally, of
course, but rather as a basis for comparison. Metaphorically, history can be
seen to consist of stages comparable to those that make up the life span of
humans. All the stages in an individual life can be found also in the stages in
the life of a people. We can distinguish the following stages in humans: em-
bryonic life, infancy, childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, and adult-
hood. Middle age, old age, and death are excluded here for the obvious rea-
son that Chicanos are still developing, with some people further advanced
than others.

The point of comparison is that both historical and human bioso-
cial evolution consist of a progression from one stage to another. Each hu-
man growth stage entails a certain type of awareness that allows a person to
think and act in special and predictable ways. For example, embryonic life
is obviously quite different from any of the other maturational levels, al-
though the difference between early and later adulthood is not so easily ap-
praised. As we proceed, it will be made clear how each human and historical
stage interrelates and why a particular type of human awareness is found in
one stage and not another. While successive stages often are not qualitatively
better, each is more complex than the last, if only from the incorporation of
what has been learned in previous developmental levels. Of course, there are
instances where stages overlap or one takes priority over another, or when
development is blocked or uneven. Nevertheless, the implicit goal here is the
establishment of a mechanism to draw parallels and make comparisons.
This human growth strategem will facilitate discussion of whether mature,
evolutionary progression characterizes various stages of Chicano history or
whether the long experience has set Chicanos further back.

For the purpose of this text Chicano history is divided into four
major historical periods. Each will be listed first and followed by a compa-
rable human developmental stage in parentheses.

1. Pre-Columbian, pre-1519 (*embryonic life and infancy*). For biological and cultural reasons Chicanos are, in an evolutionary sense, tied to the Indians of Mexico and the Southwest. Aztecs, especially, impressed their culture on surrounding natives and for their time reached the highest level of indigenous civilization. In addition, they became the first large native group to be defeated militarily by the Europeans and to experience a life of subjugation.
2. Spanish colonial, 1521-1821 (*childhood*). This period is one of the most influential in the formation of the Chicano people. Although Chicanos received most of their genetic makeup from Indians, the Spanish were profoundly instrumental in shaping Chicano cultural life, for example, Spanish surnames and language. Their 300-year reign was the longest and perhaps the most significant of all the postcontact stages.

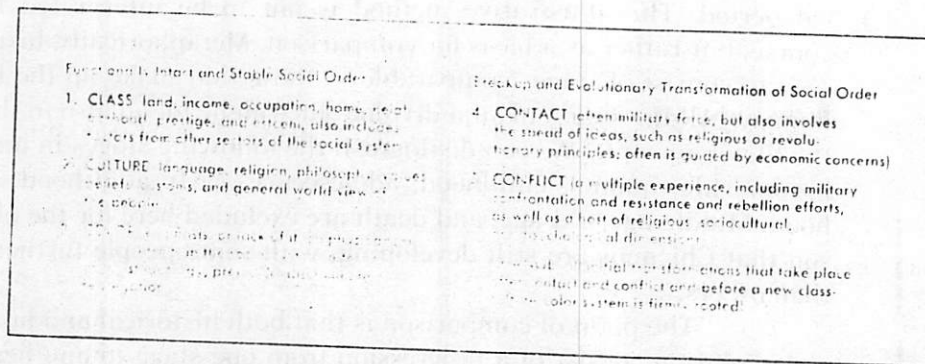


Fig. 1. Six C's model of sociocultural change.

3. Mexican independence and nationalism, 1821-1846 for Mexicans in the United States, but up to 1910 for those in Mexico (*adolescence*). Obviously the experiences of Mexicans on both sides of the border differed markedly on several levels. However, there are still important features that bind them together. On the whole, cultural patterns remained similar, and there was some reciprocal immigration that tended to invigorate and solidify that connection. Often the events in either nation affected affairs in the other. Thus, the awakening of an ethnic and national consciousness must include activities in both regions.
4. Anglo period, 1846-1960's (*early adulthood*). By accident or design, the Anglo "assimilation" policy for foreigners was begun at the time that Chicanos entered the United States. This was the government's predominant cultural adjustment strategy until a massive, concerted effort to change matters began during the 1960's.

In each of these historical stages, the Chicano people were confronted with new realities and problems, but always there was a developing awareness and growth.

The stages of life metaphor aids depiction of a dynamic growth of a people and can be employed flexibly. The model could easily be applied to any one of the stages designated above, thus for example, making a life cycle out of the Aztec and Spanish experience. Every sociocultural beginning is also in some sense an end or a middle, depending on the perspective one takes. Surely the Aztecs and colonial Spanish attained growth pinnacles in their respective eras. The purpose here is not to designate any of the earlier cultural patterns as inferior, but to give emphasis to their role in the blossoming of the Chicano variant: to show how a preindustrial, localized people became integrated into an industrial, multinational entity.

A second method used in the text to clarify Chicano history is a model of sociocultural change, the Six C's: class, culture, color, contact, conflict, and change (Table 1). This model provides a framework for understanding both the structure and the process of a social system (Vogt 1960). Anthro-

Table 1. Historical periods

I. Pre-Columbian, pre-1519 embryonic life and early infancy	
Class	Nobility supported by landholding calpulli (clan) members
Culture	Complex pantheon; rich literary tradition
Color	Race of minimal importance
Contact	Cortes and conquerors seek riches
Conflict	Tenochtitlan falls; Spanish introduce new traditions
Change	Early colonial practices, especially land and religion

pologists might say that this is a simplification and interpretation. A synchronic approach to the study of culture is seasonal, or annually. A developmental approach to the study of culture is an evolutionary or macrolevel.

Each chronological period is a simplification of the Six C's model of sociocultural change that occurs over time. It is not a work for a synchronic perspective, but a given time (Bloch 1975; Parson 1954). Each period is a simplification of the socioeconomics and sociocultural change and is not caused by racism or discrimination, but to simplify the headings listed above (Berger 1969). Each period is presented is also important for developing an examination

Table 1. Historical periods and stages of human growth

	I. Pre-Columbian, pre-1519 <i>embryonic life and early infancy</i>	II. Spanish colonial 1521-1821 <i>childhood</i>	III. Mexican Independence and nationalism 1821-1846 (1910) <i>adulthood</i>	IV. Anglo 1846-1960's <i>early adulthood</i>
Class	Nobility supported by landholding calpulli (clan) members	Haciendas; native majority debt peons	Criollos take over, some mestizos in- cluded	Stripped of land, Chicanos remain low-paid farm and urban workers
Culture	Complex pan- theon; rich literary tradition	Hispanicization and rise of mesti- zaje or blending	Some signs of emerging Mexican style, still mostly imitating Europe	Anglicization; su- periority inferior- ity connotations; Chicano fusion
Color	Race of minimal importance	Racial barriers create problems for those subju- gated	Some mestizos more accepted, In- dians not	New dimension to racism, worst for darker "cholos"
Contact	Cortes and con- querors seek riches	Enlightenment; colonial dissolu- tion	Anglo-American land expansionism	Drawn-out human rights struggle peaks again in 1960's
Conflict	Tenochtitlan falls; Spanish introduce new traditions	Independence, New World Span- iards victors	Mexican-American War of 1846	Chicanos confront system at all levels
Change	Early colonial practices, espe- cially land and re- ligion	Era of experimen- tation and bud- ding nationalism	Anglo occupation of Mexican land, sociocultural struggles	Ethnic conscious- ness and pride bring advance- ment

← Diachronic →

Synchronic ↑

Evolutionary Transformation of Social Order

FACT: often military force, but also involves
most of culture such as religious or moral
principles. Often is guided by some "higher" goal.

FACT: multiple experience, including military,
political, and resistance and rebellion efforts
in a context of religious, sociocultural
(psychological dimensions)

FACT: all initial transformations that take place
contact and conflict and before a new "class"
color system is firmly rooted

Sociocultural change.

1846-1960 for Mexicans in the United States (adolescence). Obviously the experiences were marked on several levels. How to bind them together. On the whole, there was some reciprocal immigration connection. Often the events in either direction were an awakening of an ethnic and national consciousness.

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to clarify Chicano history is a class, culture, color, contact, conflict framework for understanding the system (Voss 1960). Anthro-

pologists might say that the model aids synchronic and diachronic analysis and interpretation. A synchronic assessment refers to the functional approach to the study of culture in a given time, such as what occurs daily, seasonally, or annually. A diachronic focus emphasizes the historical or developmental approach to the study of culture, such as the interpretation of an evolutionary or macrolevel cumulative change (Vancina 1970).

Each chronological "life stage" in the text is followed by the application of the Six C's model to provide a clearer understanding of the sociocultural change that occurred in that stage. This will provide a framework for a synchronic perspective, or what is functionally operative at any given time (Bloch 1975; Park 1950). Issues and conditions of class (sociological or socioeconomic conditions and practices), culture (anthropological or sociocultural change and innovation), and color (sociopsychological problems caused by racism) are discussed first. Other subjects are not ignored or avoided, but to simplify the presentation they are included under the major headings listed above (Berkhofer 1969:31-32). The sequence in which they are presented is also important. Generally, the class factor is the foundation for developing an examination of the other sectors (Sanjek 1969; Harris

1979). However, there are times when the discussion includes all of the features simultaneously, either because of similar time placement or because they are inextricably interwoven. The categories of class, culture, and color provide a vehicle to highlight the continuous social order and the way in which several major social features intertwine to make a social history (Simpson and Yinger 1972:3; Heisler 1977:2).

The second three categories of contact, conflict, and change aid in explaining the quality and nature of social evolution. *Contact* refers to intrusions that upset an ongoing social system, *conflict* designates the nature of the subsequent struggle, and *change* denotes the reorganization of society in the aftermath (Spicer 1962). A contact-conflict-change analysis enables one to determine how and why a stable social system is disrupted, transformed, and reintegrated. It does this by elucidating how a people evolve from one historical period to another. The result in each stage is the establishment of a new social order, by which Chicanos are progressively shaped and molded according to the dictates of that period.

To summarize, each historical era begins with a relatively intact, stable, *class-culture-color* system, which in time is altered. A *contact-conflict-change* explanatory sequence clarifies the transformations that a fully functional social system undergoes and pinpoints specific aspects of the upheaval.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PRESENT DAY

Application of the Six C's model to each historical period yields a categorical framework within which to describe and discuss similar social system sectors, and more importantly, creates a basis of comparison for all the time periods. Another objective the model fulfills is to document specifically the beginnings of certain modern traits and customs of Chicanos. The model has several dimensions that offer insight into different types of issues in a holistic fashion (Pitt 1972; Hodgen 1974).

With the use of the human stages of growth metaphor and the Six C's model of sociocultural change, this historical study should provide one with an appreciation of the complexity of all these transformations. If it is true that Chicanos have had a diverse contact and change experience, then it follows that there are diverse legacies from which to draw. This diversity underscores the difficulty in comprehending modern Chicano issues and problems. An understanding of the history of these problems will aid in diminishing that difficulty.

As situations of time and place dictate, Chicanos have been affected by many influences (Madrid-Barela 1973). In adapting and adjusting

to a multitude of circumstances, values, and beliefs of most other nationalities and racially in a "layered-on" type of

Clearly, none are germane to this history of inheritances. As one of the ability of modern technologies of adaptation. The and cultural mixture of a flexible and community and then another has to Mexicans as "La R" ment of how cultural tion also pertains to

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discussion includes all of the features of time placement or because of categories of class, culture, and color in the social order and the way in which they intertwine to make a social history (2).

Contact, conflict, and change aid in evolution. *Contact* refers to intrusion, *conflict* designates the nature of the reorganization of society in which conflict-change analysis enables one to see how a system is disrupted, transformed, and how a people evolve from one stage to the next. Each stage is the establishment of a progressively shaped and molded

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ISSUES FOR THE

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dictate, Chicanos have been afflicted (73). In adapting and adjusting

to a multitude of circumstances, they have had to change and rechange customs, values, and beliefs. Their experience is different historically from that of most other national minority groups because they were made to feel culturally and racially inferior by more than the dominant group. Hence, a "layered-on" type of oppression occurred.

Clearly, negative material conditions of land, labor, and wealth are germane to this history (Woff 1969). Nevertheless, there are also positive inheritances. As one possible reason for their survival, Chicanos epitomize the ability of modern colonized people to fashion multiple-pronged strategies of adaptation. They have learned to integrate and synthesize past racial and cultural mixture experiences. This, in turn, has led to the development of a flexible and comprehensive approach to life, in which first one avenue and then another has assisted their perseverance. Jose Vasconcelos' reference to Mexicans as "La Raza Cosmica" (The Cosmic People) was an early assessment of how cultural diversity makes for strength and vitality. This description also pertains to the even more culturally diverse Chicano people.

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1 / Spelling

WHEN YOU BEGIN TO STUDY or review the principles of good writing, you begin with the study of words. The first section of this book, therefore, deals with how words are spelled, when they are capitalized, and how they are commonly used in sentences.

If you are a poor speller, the improvement of your writing must begin with the improvement of your spelling. For poor spelling is the most conspicuous of all the faults of poor writing. Everyone notices it and ridicules it: whenever schools and colleges hear complaints about the writing of their graduates, nine out of ten of these complaints are about bad spelling.

You should of course know how to use a dictionary to find the correct spellings of the uncommon or difficult words you use. But you should not use the dictionary as a crutch, stopping to look up common words like *recommend* and *receive* every time you write a letter or a theme. You should know words like these, and you should be able to write them as correctly and as effortlessly as you write your own name.

The four hundred words most commonly misspelled by students beginning college work are printed on the following pages. These words are used so frequently that you should begin your review of spelling by learning to spell them perfectly.

To study the spelling of a word, do these things:

1. Look at the word carefully, noticing how it is built. Does it have a common prefix (*unnecessary*, *uninteresting*; *disappointed*, *dissatisfied*) or a common suffix (*existence*, *difference*; *performance*, *attendance*)?
2. Pronounce the word correctly. Many students misspell words like *government*, *candidate*, and *library* because they have always mispronounced them.
3. Pronounce the word by syllables: AC-COM-MO-DATE, REC-OM-MEND.
4. Notice the hard spots: *perseverance*, *separate*. Students who misspell words almost always misspell them in the same places.
5. Use any memory device ("letters are written on stationery") or spelling rule ("i before e, except after c") that you find helpful.

Write the words you are studying over and over, and practice them until the correct spelling is habitual. Learn them any way you can, but *learn* them.

The Basic List

First Group

absence
across
a lot
among
appearance
athlete
becoming
business
chief
coming
completely
control
council
deceive
destroy
divided
eighth

entrance
existence
February
friend
hear
hoping
independent
island
its
led
merely
necessary
off
omitted
paid
passed
piece

plain
principal
proceed
quantity
quiet
safety
separate
stopping
studying
than
their
there
too
used
weather
writing

Second Group

accept
address
all right
altogether
apparent
article
beginning
buried
choose
committee
comparatively
conscious
counsel
definite
description
dining
embarrassed

equipped
excellent
foreign
fourth
grammar
immediately
incidentally
interesting
lose
losing
marriage
mathematics
operate
owing
permanent
perseverance
planned

pleasant
probably
proving
really
recommend
referred
secretary
shining
speech
succeed
surely
through
until
using
whether
you're

Third Group

accomplish
adequate
affect
answer
apologizing
argument
benefited
bulletin
capital
clothes
competitive
continually
courtesy
dependent
desert
dissatisfied
elementary

environment
except
finally
forty
government
humorous
immigrants
intelligence
let's
loose
nevertheless
niece
nowadays
opinion
parliament
pastime
preceding

prejudiced
principle
professor
quitting
representative
seized
sense
sincerely
sophomore
successful
surprise
temperament
till
tries
usually
valuable

Fourth Group

accommodate
acquire
advice
angle
approach
arithmetic
believing
calendar
certain
chosen
compelled
convenience
curiosity
decision
desirable
disappeared
effect

equivalent
excitement
familiar
generally
grateful
imagination
influential
interfere
knowledge
livelihood
ninety
ninth
opportunity
original
permissible
persuade
politics

potato
privilege
professional
receive
repetition
restaurant
scarcely
stationery
strength
sufficiently
suppress
surrounded
thorough
truly
valleys
varieties

Fifth Group

accumulate
achievement
advise
anniversary
approximately
arrangements
attendance
Britain
candidate
commit
conceivable
conscientious
courteous
decent
dessert
diseases
eliminated

especially
experiment
formally
fulfilled
height
hindrance
indispensable
interrupt
meant
mortgage
noticeable
occasion
particularly
peaceable
perform
possibility
preferred

preparation
presence
quizzes
relieve
rhythm
schedule
similar
source
synonym
temporary
twelfth
unnecessary
vegetable
village
whose
woman

Sixth Group

accidentally
accustomed
advisable
analyze
appetite
arranging
awkward
brilliant
changeable
commission
conquer
conscience
criticism
descend
desperate
disappoint
efficiency

emphasize
explanation
fascination
formerly
genius
hurriedly
imminent
irrelevant
laboratory
leisurely
library
loneliness
morale
neighbor
occurrence
outrageous
perceive

possess
practically
procedure
pursuing
reference
religious
ridiculous
sacrifice
sergeant
staring
superintendent
supersede
tragedy
undoubtedly
vicinity
weird

Seventh Group

accompanied
acquaintance
aggravate
amateur
appropriate
association
basically
boundaries
carrying
cite
condemn
consistent
dealt
deficiencies
despair
discipline
eligible

enthusiastic
exaggerated
extension
fortunately
guarantee
immense
inevitable
interpreted
legitimate
license
maintenance
mysterious
occurred
omission
parallel
personnel
possession

preference
prevalent
prominent
recognize
recipes
satisfactorily
sensible
shoulder
stretched
superstitious
syllables
transferred
tremendous
vigorous
volunteer
written

Eighth Group

accessible
adolescent
aisle
anecdote
anxious
aroused
bicycle
bureau
cemetery
colonel
compliment
conspicuous
counterfeit
delinquency
disastrous
despised
eminent

endeavor
exhausted
extraordinary
fundamental
grievance
hypocrisy
ingredients
irresistible
juvenile
lieutenant
miniature
mischievous
obstacle
optimistic
paralyzed
persistent
phenomenon

predecessor
pronunciation
psychology
receipt
resemblance
resistance
scissors
solemn
specimen
suicide
supplemented
unanimous
unforgettable
vengeance
villain
wholly

cratic sympathies, defining the United States as the nation of nations destined for world leadership primarily because it was an amalgam of all peoples and races. Perhaps it is true that any fundamental, thoroughgoing democracy must be at odds with the kind of subjection of peoples that has characterized the old imperialism. Yet the United States constituted in practice an imperfect amalgam whose westward spread of settlements required the subjugation of certain peoples against their will. Even if we leave aside the question of black slavery, one could argue that the continental period of American expansion was, at least, as imperialistic as the later period. A section of this volume, therefore, considers the pros and cons of the American Indian question.

The last two sections deal with extracontinental expansion, beginning with the acquisition of Alaska. These confront us with several related problems. The first, and most important, is whether the basic premises of Manifest Destiny, established during the colonial experience, undergo any radical shift between the time of continental expansion and that of extracontinental involvement (continentalism meaning the present east-west boundaries of the United States less the states of Alaska and Hawaii). A second related problem is whether the second phase of Manifest Destiny, which usually dates from 1898, can be considered more imperialistic than the first. A third is whether the phrase "Manifest Destiny" does not perhaps imply a new form of imperialism quite unlike the example of imperial Rome which other major Western nations have followed. A final, crucial question is whether Manifest Destiny really applies, as the last document suggests, to American involvement in Vietnam.

The issue of imperialism is not at all settled. Highly respected historical authority argues that Manifest Destiny belongs to continentalism, the antithesis of imperialism. A friendly British historian, Denis Brogan, calls us "the new imperial power" in the sense that we "expect the world to turn American," with a corresponding duty to "police the world." On the other hand, a recent book-length study of President Nixon's foreign policy applauds him for a strategic retreat from world power commensurate with traditional democratic practice. In the final analysis, the reader must make up his own mind about the arguments and evidence that are presented here.

Manifest Destiny & The Imperialism Question

EDITED
• CHAS. W. SANFORD

PART ONE

Roots of Manifest Destiny

QUOTABLE QUOTES

"They thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the prayse thereof cumminge, is to God a very acceptable honour."

Sir Thomas More, 1516

"God would show him the new land as he did to Moses and Aaron after so long a struggle. For that was God's promise."

Lope de Vega, 1614

"O brave new world!"

Shakespeare, ca. 1610

"And that which still aggravates their Crimes the more, and must needs farther provoke the Divine Displeasure, is, that God had made choice of *Spain* to carry his blessed Gospel into the *Indies*, and to bring many populous Nations to the knowledge of himself."

Bartholomew de las Casas, 1544

"... it has always been our principal Intention to cause the Light of the Gospel to shine on the People of the New World."

Queen Isabella, ca. 1494

"It seemes, this end in plantation, hath been especially reserved for this later end of the world by reason of the progress of the light of the Gospel from East to West in this last age."

John White, 1630

"And seeing Lord the highest end of our plantation here, is to set up the standard, & display the banner of Jesus Christ, even here where Satans throne is Lord, let our labor be blessed in laboring the conversion of the heathen."

William Strachey, 1612

1 FROM

John Cotton
God's Promise to New England

In this address, Reverend John Cotton bid farewell to John Winthrop's company, departing Southampton, England in 1630 to find the Massachusetts Bay colony. Although Cotton did not invent the ideas enunciated here out of whole cloth, he nevertheless gave a concise formulation to the ideology that governed the Puritan "Errand into the Wilderness." His statement is important not only because it contains the seeds of Manifest Destiny but because it represents the collective voice of a people who became the chief carriers of Manifest Destiny across the continent. Cotton later became an influential spiritual leader in Massachusetts. His Biblical language here, based on a text from 2 Sam. 7:10, hardly conceals a chosen people's grand design to dispossess the Indians from their lands by fair means or foul.

Now God makes room for a people 3 ways:

First, when he casts out the enemies of a people before them by lawfull warre with the inhabitants, which God calls them unto: as in Ps. 44. 2. *Thou didst drive out the heathen before them.*

SOURCE. John Cotton, *God's Promise to His Plantations* (London, 1630). reprinted as *Old South Leaflet*, No. 53, pp. 5-8.

But this course of warring against others, & driving them out without provocation, depends upon speciall Commission from God, or else it is not imitable.

Secondly, when he gives a forreigne people favour in the eyes of any native people to come and sit downe with them either by way of purchase, as *Abraham* did obtaine the field of *Machpelah*; or else when they give it in courtesie, as *Pharaoh* did the land of *Goshen* unto the sons of *Jacob*.

Thirdly, when hee makes a Countrey though not altogether void of inhabitants, yet voyd in that place where they reside. Where there is a vacant place, there is liberty for the sonne of *Adam* or *Noah* to come and inhabite, though they neither buy it, nor aske their leaves. *Abraham* and *Isaac*, when they sojourned amongst the Philistines, they did not buy that land to feede their cattle, because they said There is roome enough. And so did *Jacob* pitch his Tent by *Sechem*, *Gen.* 34. 21. There was roome enough as *Hamor* said, *Let them sit down amongst us*. And in this case if the people who were former inhabitants did disturbe them in their possessions, they complained to the King, as of wrong done unto them: As *Abraham* did because they took away his well, in *Gen.* 21. 25. For his right whereto he pleaded not his immediate calling from God, (for that would have seemed frivolous amongst the Heathen) but his owne industry and culture in digging the well, verse 30. Nor doth the King reject his plea, with what had he to doe to digge wells in their soyle? but admitteth it as a Principle in Nature, That in a vacant soyle, hee that taketh possession of it, and bestoweth culture and husbandry upon it, his Right it is. And the ground of this is from the grand Charter given to *Adam* and his posterity in *Paradise*, *Gen.* 1. 28. *Multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it*. If therefore any sonne of *Adam* come and finde a place empty, he hath liberty to come, and fill, and subdue the earth there. This Charter was renewed to *Noah*, *Gen.* 9. 1. *Fulfill the earth and multiply*: So that it is free from that comon Grant for any to take possession of vacant Countries. Indeed no Nation is to drive out another without speciall Commission from heaven, such as the Israelites had, unless the Natives do unjustly wrong them, and will not recompence the wrongs done in peaceable sort, & then they may right themselves by lawfull war, and subdue the Countrey unto themselves.

This placing of people in this or that Countrey, is from Gods sovereignty over all the earth, and the inhabitants thereof: as in *Psal.* 24. 1. *The earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse thereof*. And in *Ier.* 10. 7. God is there called, *The King of Nations*: and in *Deut.* 10. 14. Therefore it is meete he should provide a place for all Nations to inhabite, and haue all the earth replenished. Onely in the Text here is meant some more speciall appointment, because God tells them it by his owne mouth; he doth not so with other people, he doth not tell the children of *Sier*, that hee hath appointed a place for them: that is, He gives them the land by promise; others take the land by his providence, but Gods people take the land by promise: And therefore the land of *Canaan* is called a land of promise. Which they discern, first, by discerning themselves to be in Christ, in whom all the promises are yea, and amen.

Secondly, by finding his holy presence with them, to wit, when he plants them in the holy Mountaine of his Inheritance: *Exodus.* 15. 17. And that is when he giveth them the liberty and purity of his Ordinances. It is a land of promise, where they have provision for soule as well as for body. *Ruth* dwelt well for outward respects while shee dwelt in *Moab*, but when shee cometh to dwell in *Israel*, shee is said to come under the wings of God: *Ruth* 2. 12. When God wrappes us in with his Ordinances, and warmes us with the life and power of them as with wings, there is a land of promise.

This my teach us all where we doe now dwell, or where after wee may dwell, be sure you looke at every place appointed to you, from the hand of God: wee may not rush into any place, and never say to God, By your leave; but we must discern how God appoints us this place. There is poore comfort in sitting down in any place, that you cannot say, This place is appointed me of God. Canst thou say that God spied out this place for thee, and there hath settled thee above all hindrances? didst thou finde that God made roome for thee either by lawfull descent, or purchase, or gift, or other warrantable right? Why then this is the place God hath appointed thee; here hee hath made roome for thee, he hath placed thee in *Rehoboth*, in a peaceable place: This we must discern, or els we are but intruders upon God. And when wee doe withall discern, that God giveth us these outward blessings from his love in Christ, and maketh comfort-

able provision as well for our soule as for our bodies, by the meanes of grace, then doe we enjoy our present possession as well by gracious promise, as by the common, and just, and bountifull providence of the Lord. Or if a man doe remove, he must see that God hath espied out such a Countrey for him.

2 FROM

William Box
God's Providence in Virginia

An enduring myth of American history has it that the Southern colonists were an irreligious lot of fortune seekers compared to the New England saints. William Box's narrative of early Virginia may suggest otherwise. Actually, these colonists were also children of the Protestant Reformation who tended to see the hand of God in their worldly undertakings and were quite as quick to take up arms against imagined minions of the devil. If the visible church figured less prominently in their governance, an important reason was the relatively relaxed sway of Anglicanism. Yet the Virginian assembly early passed strict "blue laws." Reverend Daniel Price's farewell sermon for the Virginia Adventurers in 1609 differed from its New England counterpart chiefly in decrying a land already overflowing with milk and honey. When the colony did not prosper in this "garden of the world," its members were accused of sloth and worldly vanity. Box's narrative deals with the "time of starvation," ended by the late arrival of Lord Delaware—who promptly succumbed to the same combination of malaria, dysentery, and scurvy that had afflicted the settlers in the mosquito-infested swampland that was early Jamestown.

SOURCE. John Smith's *Generall Historie*. . . (London, 1624) as reprinted in *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625*, edited by Lyon Gardiner Tyler (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), pp. 297-301.

His Lordship arrived the ninth of June 1610. accompanied with Sir Ferdinando Waynman, Captaine Houlcroft, Captaine Lawson, and divers other Gentlemen of sort; the tenth he came up with his fleet, went on shore, heard a Sermon, read his Commission, and entred into consultation for the good of the Colonie: in which secret counsell we will a little leave them, that we may duly observe the revealed counsell of God. Hee that shall but turne up his eie, and behold the spangled canopie of heaven, or shall but cast downe his eie, and consider the embroydered carpet of the earth, and withall shall marke how the heavens heare the earth, and the earth the Corne and Oile, and they relieve the necessities of man, that man will acknowledge Gods infinite providence. But hee that shall further observe, how God inclineth all casuall events to worke the necessary helpe of his Saints, must needs adore the Lord infinite goodnesse. Never had any people more just cause, to cast themselves at the very footstool of God, and to reverence his mercies, than this distressed Colonie; for if God had not sent Sir Thomas Gates from the Bermudas, within foure daies they had almost beene famished; if God had not directed the heart of that noble Knight to save the Fort from fiering at their shipping, for many were very importunate to have burnt it, they had beene destitute of a present harbour and succour: if they had abandoned the Fort any longer time, and had not so soone returned, questionlesse the Indians would have destroied the Fort, which had beene the meanes of our safeties amongst them and a terror. If they had set saile sooner, and had lanced into the vast Ocean; who would have promised they should have incountered the Fleet of the Lord la Ware: especially when they made for Newfound land, as they intended; a course contrarie to our Navie approaching. If the Lord la Ware had not brought with him a yeeres provision, what comfort would those poore soules have received, to have beene relanded to a second distruction? This was the arme of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people passe the red Sea and Wildernesse, and then to possesse the land of Canaan: It was divinely spoken of Heathen Socrates, If God for man be carefull, why should man bee over-distrustfull? for he hath so tempered the contrary qualities of the Elements,

*That neither cold things want heat, nor moist things dry,
Nor sad things spirits, to quicken them thereby,
Yet make they music all content of contrariety,
Which conquer'd, knits them in such links together,
They doe produce even all this whatsoever.*

The Lord Governour, after mature deliberation, delivered some few words to the Companie, laying just blame upon them, for their haughtie vanities and sluggish idlenesse, earnestly intreating them to amend those desperate follies lest hee should be compelled to draw the sword of Justice and to cut off such delinquents, which he had rather draw to the shedding of his vitall blood, to protect them from injuries; heartning them with relation of that store hee had brought with him, constituting officers of all conditions, to rule over them, allotting every man his particular place, to watch vigilantly, and worke painfully. This Oration and direction being received with a generall applause, you might shortly behold the idle and restie diseases of a divided multitude, by the unitie and authorities of this government to be substantially cured. Those that knew not the way to goodnesse before, but cherished singularitie and faction, can now chalke out the path of all respective dutie and service: every man endeavourth to outstrip other in diligence: the French preparing to plant the Vines, the English labouring in the Woods and grounds; every man knoweth his charge, and dischargeth the same with alacritie. Neither let any man be discouraged, by the relation of their daily labour (as though the sap of their bodies should bee spent for other mens profit) the settled times of working, to effect all themselves, or as the Adventurers need desire, required no more paines than from six of the clocke in the morning, untill ten, and from two in the afternoone, till foure; at both which times they are provided a spirituall and corporall reliefe. First, they enter into the Church, and make their praiers unto God; next they returne to their houses and receive their proportion of food. Nor should it bee conceived that this businesse excludeth Gentlemen, whose breeding never knew what a daies labour meant: for though they cannot digge, use the Spade, nor practice the Axe, yet may the staid spirits of any condition, finde how to imploy the force of knowledge, the exercise of

counsell, the operation and power of thier best breeding and qualities. The houses which are built, are as warme and defensive against wind and weather, as if they were tiled and slated, being covered above with strong boards, and some matted round with Indian mats. Our forces are now such as are able to tame the furie and trecherie of the Salvages: Our Forts assure the Inhabitants, and frustrate all assaylants. . . .

The fertilitie of the soile, the temperature of the climate, the forme of government, the condition of our people, their daily invoking of the Name of God being thus expressed; why should the successe, by the rules of mortall judgement, bee disparaged? why should not the rich harvest of our hopes be seasonably expected? I dare say, that the resolution of Cæsar in France, the designs of Alexander, the discoveries of Hernando Cortes in the West, and of Emanuel King of Portugal in the East, were not encouraged upon so firme grounds of state and possibilitie.

3 FROM

George Berkeley

*On the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning
in America*

George Berkeley (1685–1753), the famous philosopher and Anglican bishop, wrote this poem in 1726, shortly before setting sail for America, where he hoped to establish a college for the conversion of Indians. Failing in this mission for want of funds, he returned to England several years later, a disappointment which suggests that this more humane method of dealing with Indians did not always receive the highest priority in the colonies. In any event, missionary activity of this kind has come to be suspect as another face of imperialism.

The poem is notable for several reasons. First, it marks the transition from religious to a more secular idealism. Second, it strikes the distinctly prophetic note that was to characterize

SOURCE. *The Works of George Berkeley* (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1901), IV, pp. 365–366.

Manifest Destiny. Third, it announces in a few memorable phrases the great American theme of nature and civilization. Its great and continuing popularity with American readers dates from 1752, when it was first published in the British magazine, *Miscellany*.

*The Muse, disgusted at an age and clime
Barren of every glorious theme,
In distant lands now waits a better time,
Producing subjects worthy fame:*

*In happy climes, where from the genial sun
And virgin earth such scenes ensue,
The force of art by nature seems outdone,
And fancied beauties by the true:*

*In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
Where nature guides and virtue rules,
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools:*

*There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.*

*Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.*

*Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.*

4 FROM

Nathaniel Ames

America—Its Past, Present, and Future State

Almanac-maker, jester, and prophet of destiny as of the weather eight years before Benjamin Franklin launched his "Poor Richard's Almanac," Ames in this essay gives Berkeley's famous line, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," the kind of specificity and lively relevance that it has since acquired for itself through historic fulfillment. With Ames, whose almanacs are reputed to have reached a larger audience throughout New England than did any other single form of expression at the time, the dynamic east-west thrust of American society has been well established, and its classic enemy has been well defined as devilish European powers. With Ames, too, the mission of regeneration has largely shifted from Christian crusade to civilizing saviordom. A major unresolved problem that Ames cautiously skirts is how to restore an imagined golden age in its innocent pastoral setting and also create great cities. Ames has obviously read Berkeley's poem.

America is a Subject which daily becomes more and more interesting:—I shall therefore fill these Pages with a Word upon its Past, Present and Future State.

I. First of its Past State: Time has cast a Shade upon this Scene.—Since the Creation innumerable Accidents have happened here, the bare mention of which would create Wonder and Surprize; but they are all lost in Oblivion: The ignorant Natives for Want of Letters have forgot their Stock; and know not from whence they came, or how, or when they arrived here, or what has happened since:—Who can tell what wonderful Changes

SOURCE. Nathaniel Ames, "America—Its Past, Present, and Future State," *Astronomical Diary and Almanac* (Boston, 1758), n. p. This essay concludes the almanac and is not formally titled.

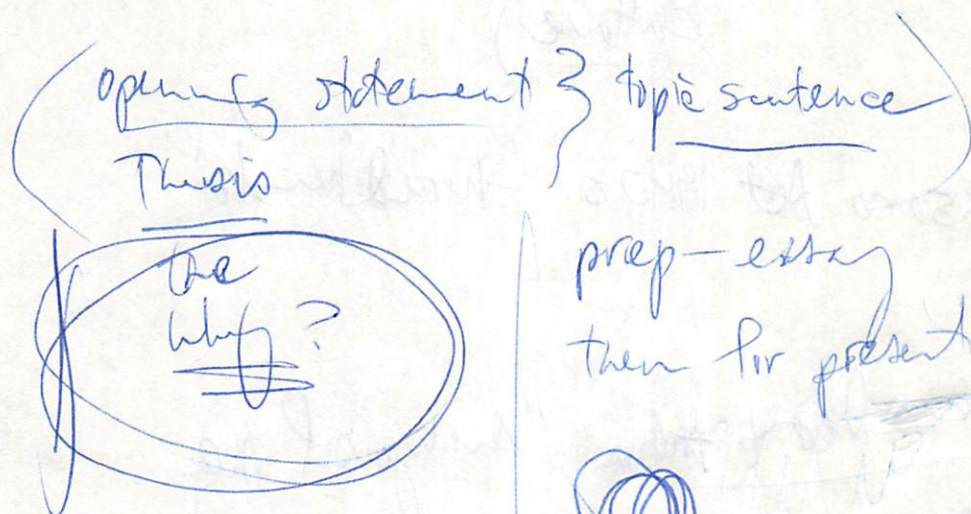
have happen'd by the mighty Operations of Nature, such as Deluges, Vulcanoës, Earthquakes, etc.!—Or whether great Tracts of Land were not absorbed into those vast Lakes or inland Seas which occupy so much Space to the West of us.—But to leave the Natural, and come to the Political State: We know how the *French* have erected a Line of Forts from the *Ohio* to *Nova-Scotia*, including all the inestimable Country to the West of us, into their exorbitant Claim.—This, with infinite Justice, the *English* resented; & in this Cause our Blood has been spilled: Which brings to our Consideration,

II. Secondly, The Present State of North America.—A Writer upon this present Time says, "The Parts of *North America* which may be claimed by *Great Britain* or *France* are of as much Worth as either Kingdom.—That fertile Country to the West of the Appalachian Mountains (a String of 8 or 900 miles in length) between *Canada* and the *Mississippi*, is of larger extent than all *France*, *Germany* and *Poland*; and all well provided with rivers, a very fine wholesome air a rich Soil, capable of producing Food and Physick, and all Things necessary for the Convenience and Delight of Life: In fine, the Garden of the World!"—Time was we might have been possessed of it: At this Time two mighty Kings contend for this inestimable Prize:—Their respective Claims are to be measured by the Length of their Swords.—The Poet says, The Gods and Opportunity ride Post; that you must take her by the Forelock being bald Behind.—Have we not too fondly depended upon our Numbers?—Sir *Francis Bacon* says, 'The Wolf careth not how many the Sheep be:' But Numbers well—spirited, with the Blessing of Heaven will do Wonders, when by military Skill and Discipline, the Commanders can actuate (as by one Soul) the most numerous Bodies of arm'd People:—Our numbers will not avail till the Colonies are united: for whilst divided, the Strength of the Inhabitants is broken like the petty Kingdoms in *Africa*.—If we do not join Heart and Hand in the common Cause against our exulting Foes, but fall to disputing amongst ourselves, it may really happen as the Governour of *Pennsylvania* told his Assembly, 'We shall have no Privilege to dispute about, nor Country to dispute in.'—

III. Thirdly, of the Future State of North America.—Here we find a vast stock of proper Materials for the Art and Ingenuity of

Man to work upon:—Treasures of immense Worth; conceal'd from the poor ignorant aboriginal Natives! The Curious have observ'd, that the Progress of Humane Literature (like the Sun) is from the East to the West; thus, has it travell'd thro' *Asia* and *Europe*, and now is arrived at the Eastern Shore of *America*. As the Coelestial Light of the Gospel was directed here by the Finger of GOD, it will doubtless, finally drive the long! long! Night of Heathenish Darkness from *America*.—So Arts and Sciences will change the Face of Nature in their Tour from Hence over the Appalachian Mountains to the Western Ocean; and as they march thro' the vast Desert, the Residence of wild Beasts will be broken up, and their obscene Howl cease for ever;—Instead of which, the Stones and Trees will dance together at the Music of *Orpheus*,—the Rocks will disclose their hidden Gems,—and the inestimable Treasures of Gold & Silver be broken up. Huge Mountains of Iron Ore are already discovered, and vast Stores are reserved for future Generations: This Metal more useful than Gold and Silver, will imploy Millions of Hands, not only to form the martial Sword, and peaceful Shave, alternately; but an Infinity of Utensils improved in the Exercise of Art, and Handicraft, amongst Men. Nature thro' all her Works has sharp'd Authority on this Law, namely, "That all fit Matter shall be improved to its best Purposes."—Shall not then these vast Quarries, that teem with mechanic Stone,—those for Structure be piled into great Cities,—and those for Sculpture into Statues of perpetuate the Honor of renowned Heroes; even those who shall now save their Country.—O! Ye unborn Inhabitants of *America*! Should this Page escape its destin'd Conflagration at the Year's End, and these Alphabetical Letters remain legible,—when your Eyes behold the Sun after he has rolled the Seasons round for two or three Centuries more, you will know that in *Anno Domini* 1758, we dream'd of your Times.

3/12 CHIC 102 - Speech Comm.



prep-essay
then for presentation



- Topic sentence
- Body to essay
- Conclusion - comment section

The contemporary Chicano Family Articles

Anglo		
<u>Family</u>		<u>mexican</u>
nuclear	→	nuclear
extended	→	extended
		ritualistic behaviors
		compadrazco
		godparents

①

confederates → Christ — trad &
Nahant trad (~~the~~ indigenous
culture)

Brasara Act 1940's — hired "hands"

(Home Dept & Hohn "Analysis of the
Family)

Chavez - Theme

This paper is about Mexican
rediscovering Mexican values.

1. Introduction - observations
2. Identifying Mexican Values
 - A. Values vs. Stereotypes
 - B. Seeing the values beyond the media hype
 - C. Some basic values
 1. Values within their cultural/historical parameters
 2. Values within the dominant culture
3. A synthesis or anti-synthesis?

2/19

CAC 102

manifest Destiny & the Imperial Quest.

Difference -

same word "you" } there -
+ forward "you" } there -

mandate from God - "to rationalize/motivate
their behavior."

— Chattel slavery → non-human

— miscegenation = intermarriage.

John Calvin's 144,000 (?)

pre-Postball

significant Indian groups

Mayan → 10,000
OLMECS 2,000 BC - 200 AD

~~Teotihuacan~~ TOLECTES → CACTLOTOPILITZIN

Chichimecs → XOLOTL

→ TENOCCHITLAN → NEZACCOYATL

MEXICA → MOCTEZUMA

~~Dodger bulger~~

~~indign natign~~

~~rescind rescind~~

~~flout flout~~

~~civil civil~~

~~wreck wreck~~

~~burgeon burgeon~~

~~inundate inundate~~

~~subvert subvert~~

~~substantiate substitute~~

Significant Aztec groups

Mayas - 10,000 BC (?)

OLMECS - 2,000 BC - 200 AD

pre-football - ball game - ritual enactment
of forces of good & evil - endurance test
order & discipline → physical endurance &
martial strength.

TOLTECS - near Veracruz - Tula "area of the high reed"
700 AD - 950 AD

C'ACTLTOPILITZIN (~~QUAZACOTL~~) QUEZALCOATL

Art Fanatics (not totally into the ball game) not
a warrior people - loved art - music, dance, painting,
sculpture → worship God thru the arts → ~~Artists~~
Similarities to God is in the arts (humanities)
(arts, language, philosophy,

"He who is the giver of movement" = God per
indigenous americans.

CHICHIMECS - XOLOTL - war lord - pillage/rape/kill
↓
dog
↓
bravery
more skins - ~~was~~ very fierce people!!

river called Aztecs → AZLAN "in the case"
from ~~ATLAN~~ ATLAN " (atlantic?)

CHICHIMEC → TOLTECS

Mexico city

XOLOTL sons & three princesses

city states ~~with~~ various provinces

MEXICAN → (TEBUCHITIAN)

Grandson

↓

MOCETUZUMA

↓

NEZALCOYATL (warrior/philosopher etc)

Control center w/ C'ACTLTOPILITZIN
not w/ the god QUEZALCOATL but the war.

2/26 ~~Ch 102~~ 102 - Comm

Public Speaking - Communication

non-verbal comm:

facial expression
body language
(construed) gestures
eye contact
touching
symbols

verbal

words
speech

sounds

→ For most people

Agreement - culture - teaches us what
is appropriate behavior.

eg., proxemics - social distance ...

territoriality - restraining orders for
space violators.

comm = a process; an ind. expression (to
set limits - primitive times) to indicate
x amount of pain or discomfort → for
survival reasons. Agreement of the symbols.

process of communication, factors

① source (originator)
ind / group / etc.

② message (content) ~~content~~
meaning (feelings + ideas)
symbols (words sounds actions)
form (organization of symbols)
↓
vs. "word salad"

all of the
miscommunication
encoding / decoding
process

encoding: / feeling / meaning / idea put
into a word / symbol
↓
decoding: take a word / symbol & receiver
attempts to ~~establish~~ establish original
message.

③ channel
- air sounds
- light - facial expression
- scent - not really open in this culture.

④ receiver - audience (1 or more)
feedback (decoding of what was
received)

other factor/component of communication

⑤ Noise - anything that gets in the way of the sharing of the meaning

- absence of light
- sounds
- disturbing act - epileptic fit

~~external noise~~

→ semantic noise (semantic differential)

(different interpreted lived experiences)
~~complex~~ compiled - cumulative
affects decoding process

- internal noise - emotions w/ each other
sets up barriers to the message to the sender

PRESENTATION TEXT: "THE CHICANO BEHIND THE IMAGE"

1 INTRO: Headline Quotes

3

The following are ~~four~~ headlines from articles that have been published recently about the Chicano community.

1.1 LA TIMES (3/30/87): Crime Placentia Barrio

The first is from the Los Angeles TIMES, dated March 30th, 1987:

CRIME BREEDS DECAY IN A PLACENTIA BARRIO: Older Residents of Latino Santa Fe District Say New Immigrants Are Importing Violence (LA TIMES 3/30/87)

1.2 PENTHOUSE (5/87): Mexico's Instability

The second is from Penthouse magazine, regarding Mexico's instability:

THE MEXICAN TIME BOMB: Despite Reagan's Rhetoric about Communist subversion from Cuba and Nicaragua, the greatest threat to US security is the instability of our closest southern neighbor. (PENTHOUSE 5/87)

1.3 TIME (7/8/85): Latino Gangs

The ~~third~~ ^{2nd} was published in TIME magazine's special "Immigrants" issue, dated July 8th, 1985:

"PARASITES ON THEIR OWN PEOPLE': Gangs Are Tougher, Better Armed and More Violent Than Ever." (TIME 7/8/85)

1.4 NATURAL HISTORY (4/82): Low Riders

The final headline was published in Natural History magazine about Low Riders and their cars with the simple title:

LOW & SLOW, MEAN & CLEAN (NATURAL HISTORY, 4/82)

2 TOPIC SENTENCE: A Question, An Article & Two Observations

What do these headlines and associated articles say about the Chicano? Who is the Chicano behind the Media Image?

Looking at an article published in the Los Angeles TIMES on March 2nd, 1987, I would like to take a look at one particular Chicano and his media image and make two observations. The article's title was, "Cheech's '55 Chevy Convertible Is on the Block in East LA."

page 2
2006

3 COMMENT: Gutierrez Quote

Felix Gutierrez writes in an article entitled "Latinos & the Mass Media": (+Criticism of the Mass Media: The Minority Viewpoint+, p. 166)

"Coverage of Latinos in Anglo media has increased with the population growth [of Latinos]. But news reporters still tend to place too much emphasis on stories featuring "problem people"---Latinos either causing or beset by problems, such as undocumented residents, youth gangs, or recent arrivals. Other stories often have a "zoo appeal" by featuring Latinos on national holidays, celebrating cultural fiestas, or in their native costumes. While more examples of accurate news reporting can be found now than in earlier periods, the media's preoccupation with "problem people" and "zoo stories" ignores many of the important daily happenings in the Latino community."

4 Comment on Gutierrez

I agree with Gutierrez. Cursory reading of headlines, such as the ~~four~~³ that I quoted before, paint pictures of the "Big Trouble in Little TJ" or "The Funny Customs of Our Little South-of-the-Border Neighbors." But every once in a while a story will slip through that says something about the Chicano behind the image (~~stupid titles notwithstanding~~).

5 ANOTHER "ZOO" STORY?: "Cheech's '55 Chevy Convertible Is on the Block in East LA"

With ^{such a} the title, "~~Cheech's '55 Chevy Convertible Is On the Block in East LA,~~" this article runs the risk of falling under the category of being just another "Zoo" story. The observant reader might, however, uncover more about the Chicano than the news media is prone to portraying.

5.1 Story Synopsis

On the surface the article is about a car and a hospital and how the two got together. The car is owned by Chicano Comedian, Cheech Marin and the hospital is Santa Marta Hospital in East Los Angeles. Briefly, Cheech's '55 Chevy had lost its spot in the garage of his Malibu home (the spot was taken by "the wife's car"), said wife suggested the car be donated for charity, and from a newspaper story Cheech discovered and then contacted the East Los Angeles hospital; the hospital is raffling off the car and hopes to raise \$80,000 for a new early breast-cancer detection center. Simple little

story about a car and a hospital.

5.2 Two Observations:

But there's more to this article than the bit about the car and the hospital. The article says something about the community and the people.

From that standpoint I would like to make two observations:

5.2.1 Chicano Heterogeneity

First: The article says something about CHICANO HETEROGENEITY. Oh, it doesn't use the words "CHICANO HETEROGENEITY," but in discussing the path that Cheech's life has taken it should be clear to the observant reader that all Chicanos are not the same. Cheech, for example, is nothing like his "Cholo" comic image. He was raised first in a downtown black neighborhood and then in a mixed neighborhood. His parents spoke Spanish only to each other and his grandparents when they didn't want him to understand. CHICANO HETEROGENEITY. There's a person behind the image. Not all chicanos wear penaltons and bandanas and talk like someone is pulling on their upper lip. Right? CHICANO HETEROGENEITY.

EXCURSIS: Physiological Traits & "Races"

As an aside regarding heterogeneity & "racial similarities":

While Anthropologists busily spent the last century and the early part of this century dividing up humankind into "Races" it is now recognized that on the basis of physical traits (hair color, skin type, height, weight, etc.) that there are more differences numerically in these physical traits within a supposed "Racial" group than there are between "Racial" groups. So even physiologically, the idea that all people that belong to group "X" are alike is a bunch of bunk!

5.2.2 The Values of Family & Continuity (or Heritage)

The second observation has to do with the Chicano values of Family and Heritage. Cheech says at one point that he had no dealing with East LA (contrary to his own video, "Born In East LA") but after getting involved with the hospital and being around the neighborhood he says:

"There's a whole side of East Los Angeles that's never portrayed. There's very settle family areas to raise your kids. There's gangs and drugs and everything, but those are

everywhere . . ."

Referring to Heritage he says:

"I see these young people with kids and imagine my grandparents and how they were and it's a nice sense of continuity."

The barrio is not about drugs and gangs and violence. It's about Family and Heritage and Survival.

In a recent article in Rolling Stone magazine (3/26/87) the musical group, Los Lobos, spoke at length about "the neighborhood" & "family." I liked the article's title: "THE WORLD OF THEIR FATHERS: Drawing on their Mexican American heritage, Los Lobos make music that depicts the aspirations and longings of the Chicano community. They also play some pretty mean rock & roll."

The barrio is not about drugs and gangs and violence. It's about Family and Heritage and Survival.

6 CONCLUSION:

Yeah, for the most part Gutierrez is right. Daily we're treated to newspaper stories with headlines such as: "THIRD GRADERS SAID MEMBERS OF GANGS," "INSIDE THE MEXICAN MAFIA," or the Disneyesque type story about the happy Chicano family making it in the US. But then every once in a while a story slips by some sleeping editor and we the readers catch a glimpse of the Chicano behind the Image.

**THE CHICANO AND THE ANGLO NEWS MEDIA:
Reality Through the Eyes of Two Cultures**

by

Joseph B. Bustillos

**A Paper Submitted to Dr. A.A. Ortega
of the Department of Chicano Studies
of California State University at Fullerton
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
CHIC305: Chicano Family**

May 7th

1987

The 1967 Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders leveled an accusing finger at the News Media for its role in alternately ignoring and abusing the minority situation in the U.S. and for contributing to the atmosphere of racial tension without actually addressing the grievances of the minority community.¹ The purpose of this paper is to look at the treatment that the Chicano community has received from the Anglo Press and to work towards a Chicano response, keeping in mind two fundamental beliefs of the Anglo Press.

A short history of the media coverage afforded the Chicano community is quite possible because, with the exception of periodic "Race Riots" and other disturbances, the Chicano community did not exist in Anglo News Media before the 1960's. Felix Gutierrez writes:

A survey of magazine citations in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature from 1890 to 1970 reveals very few article about Latinos in the United States. Articles that were listed often had a crisis or negative overtone. That is, they were written during periods when Mexican labor or immigration impacted national policy or when Latinos were involved in civil strife.²

Thus, for the Anglo press, media coverage of the Chicano community began in 1848 as a brief footnote regarding

¹United States. Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders. (New York: The New York Times Company, 1968). pp. 382ff.

²Felix Gutierrez. "Latinos and the Media" in Readings in Mass Communications: Concepts & Issues in the Mass Media. 5th edition. eds., Micheal Emery and Ted Curtis. (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1983). p. 165.

some desert territory won in a military skirmish. The media coverage then fell silent, with the exception of periodic memos regarding a few troublemakers, until the said troublemakers became unavoidably audible during the 1960's.

What was the Anglo News Media's reaction to the now vocal Chicano community? One time Los Angeles Times writer, Ruben Salazar once noted:

The media, having ignored the Mexican-Americans for so long, but now willing to report them, seem impatient about the complexities of the story. It's as if the media, having finally discovered the Mexican-American is not amused that under the serape and sombrero is a complex Chicano instead of a potential Gringo.³

In a nutshell, the Chicano complaint is that the Anglo Press not only ignores the issues that are important to the Chicano community but habitually portray the Chicano community in a poor light. Felix Gutierrez writes:

"Coverage of Latinos in Anglo media has increased with the population growth [of Latinos]. But news reporters still tend to place too much emphasis on stories featuring "problem people"---Latinos either causing or beset by problems, such as undocumented residents, youth gangs, or recent arrivals. Other stories often have a "zoo appeal" by featuring Latinos on national holidays, celebrating cultural fiestas, or in their native costumes. While more examples of accurate news reporting can be found now than in earlier periods, the media's preoccupation with "problem people" and "zoo stories" ignores many of the important daily happenings in

³Gutierrez. p. 166.

the Latino community."⁴

The complaint is this: though the Chicano community has been a part of this country's heritage for a long time (predating Jamestown) and though Chicanos have given their lives in this country's wars, something as simple as acknowledging their egalitarian existence seems forever beyond their reach.⁵ And in their day to day existence they are reminded of this fact by the continued absence of their presence, as anything other than troublemakers, in the Anglo press. Very much parallel to the treatment of the Black community by the Anglo press, statements made in the 1967 Kerner Commission Report could be applied to the Chicano community:

The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world. The ills of the ghetto, the difficulties of life there, the Negro's burning sense of grievance, are seldom conveyed. Sights and indignities are part of the Negro's daily life, and many of them come from what he now calls "the white man's press"---

⁴Gutierrez, p. 166.

⁵David Villar Ruiz. A Soul in Exile: A Chicano Lost in Occupied Land. (Los Angeles: Vantage Press, 1981). Bookends with Richard Rodriguez's Hunger for Memory. A Chicano heading in the other direction--from the turbulent Vietnam years to a search for ethnic identity---a diary of la marcha de la Reconquista.

The fear and helplessness, the brutality and raw-racism of the police, the bitter sense of betrayal from a man that had risked his life for his country in a Southeast Asia and now was paid back with second class citizenship. It approaches the early Chicano movement on a personal level which dovetails nicely with Lewels' academic The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement.

a press that repeatedly, if unconsciously, reflects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America. this may be understandable, but it is not excusable in an institution that has the mission to inform and educate the whole of our society.

. . . Most newspaper articles and most television programming ignore the fact that an appreciable part of their audience is black. The world that television and newspapers offer to their black audience is almost totally white, in both appearance and attitude.⁶

For the Anglo, however, the problem isn't so much equal time in the Press but that the Chicano community seems adamant about not assimilating. Francisco Lewels writes:

When Dr. Jack Forbes, sociologist, testified at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights hearing in San Antonio, Texas in 1968, he was asked by the General Counsel, "Why hasn't the Mexican-American assimilated in the Southwest?" he answered, "Excuse me, sir, but that is the wrong question. Why hasn't the Anglo assimilated?" Perhaps the point Forbes was trying to make was that not only are Mexican-Americans equal in numbers in some places in the Southwest to the Anglos, but they were there first and, whereas most can speak some English,⁷ relatively few Anglos can speak Spanish.

For the Anglo and the Anglo Press, their culture is the American culture. And not only is their culture the American culture, but being the American culture it is the superior culture.

⁶United States. Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders. (New York: The New York Times Company, 1968). pp. 366, 383.

⁷Francisco J. Lewels, Jr. The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement: A Study in Minority Access. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974). p. 10.

[Our society] equates Anglo-American origin and Anglo-American ways with virtue, with goodness, even with political purity. Other cultures are not merely different; they are inferior. They must be wiped out, not only for the good of the country, but for the good of the child. Not only must he learn to speak English; he must stop speaking anything else.⁸

Those are not the words of some neo-Nazi but of the former U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe II. The Anglo culture suffers from an unfortunate strain of color blindness that associates only white with right. And as long as it is under the influence of this myopia they simply cannot see the difference between their Anglo culture and the mythical American "melting pot."

There are two factors that I see standing in the way of the Chicano community getting fair treatment in the Anglo News Media. The first is this confused identification of the "American Way" with the Anglo Culture. The second is with regards to the Myth of objectivity that the Modern News Media foists upon the reading public.

The press . . . must print the truth fully and fearlessly. It must not print biased propaganda as news. It must give the public accurate information. It must open columns to free and illuminating discussion. It must do its full and impartial duty in enabling the citizenry to conduct their democratic government wisely and successfully.⁹

⁸ ibid.

⁹ Edmond D. Coblentz, ed. Newsmen Speak. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954). p. 41.

The First Commandment of the Fourth Estate, in the words of William Randolph Hearst, is objectivity. Objectivity is the cornerstone of the Modern News Media. If anyone should know about the Modern News Media it would have been William Randolph Hearst. He certainly owned enough newspapers to put his principles into practice. Observe, for example, how he handled the Los Angeles Race Riots in the 1940's:

Guy Endore, one of the chief protagonists for the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, maintains that the crime wave was the result of a directive from Hearst himself to all Hearst editors. According to Endore the teletype message from Hearst read:

" . . . Chief suggest L.A. editors make survey of crime reports---all types--with particular emphasis on numbers of police bookings of Mexican and Negro citizens---and or aliens. Chief suggests L.A. editors transmit findings to all other Hearst editors."

Even though there was no actual evidence of a crime wave among Chicano youth, the press was able to fabricate one by running sensationalized stories and getting 'stooges,' prominent personalities anxious for publicity, to make statements about Mexican crime.

". . . even if there is no Mexican crime, there's nothing to stop you from printing what these prominent citizens are saying about Mexican crime, even if it is to the effect that it is nothing to be worried about. All this is printed under some sort of scare headline calculated to give the hurried reader the impression that Mexican crime is a real problem."¹⁰

Well, obviously, Objectivity is in the eye of the beholder.

¹⁰Alfredo Mirande. The Chicano Experience: An Alternative Perspective. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985). p. 79.

Dan Schiller writes in a book titled, Objectivity And the News:

An invisible frame brackets news reports as a particular kind of public knowledge and a key category in popular epistemology. News reports repeatedly claim that, ideally at least, they recount events without the intrusion of value judgements or symbols. News is a map, a veridical representation, a report on reality, and hence not really a story at all, but merely the facts---this is the claim. But news---akin to any literary or cultural form---must rely upon conventions. Formally created and substantially embodied conventions alone can be used to contrive the illusion of objectivity. How else could we recognize news as a form of knowledge?¹¹

Reality is a multi-directional multi-sensual phenomenon. News writing is a linear abstraction of this multi-directional multi-sensual phenomenon. Something of the Reality is stripped away and something of the writer is added in its conversion to becoming a "news story." More specifically, our cognition and therefore our recording of the Reality is at best an approximation of the Reality. There are more accurate and less accurate approximations, but in all cases, something is stripped away and something is added.¹² Is it surprising that the Anglo News Media reflects the

¹¹Dan Schiller. Objectivity And the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981). pp. 1-2.

¹²I operate as a writer under the philosophy of Fairness. That is, because true objectivity is an impossibility, than in an atmosphere of controversy or non-resolution, major points of view should be aired with special attention toward their Emic values. I have adapted this view from that of Joseph Farrar, Executive News Editor of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner.

prejudices, interests or ideas of the Anglo culture (although it may be more accurate to identify these prejudices, interests or ideas with its buying public)? Would anyone be surprised that if the shoe were on the other foot and the Chicano media were in a position of dominance that it would reflect the prejudices, interests or ideas of the associated Chicano culture? Therefore, the Chicano's cry of unfair to the Anglo News Media is true only in terms of the Anglo News Media's claim to complete objectivity.

So the Anglo News Media stands behind its ill-conceived belief in the "American Way" and the "Myth of Objectivity," all the while telling the Chicano community that denial of the Chicano community's heritage is required before it can become anything more, for example, than a crime story for the Metro section of the Los Angeles Times.

With such an ultimatum is it any wonder that the Chicano community rioted in the late 60's? Such is the dilemma for those of us that would live a bi-cultural life in a uni-cultural society. Assimilate or segregate. But as the

Kerner Commission found in the late 60's,¹³ neither course will create the kind of response that would satisfy the Chicano community. Both responses render the Chicano culture as being something inferior to the dominant Anglo culture, the first by robbing the Chicano of his ethnic heritage and the second by denying the Chicano access to the cultural mainstream.

With regards to the Chicano community and the Anglo News Media, I have to reject any view that would call for the assimilation of the Chicano into the Anglo Press or the other view that would be satisfied with an alternative Press. For the same reasons listed above in terms of one's ethnic identity such an either/or approach perpetuates the "Chicano/inferiority" myth.

As such I believe that the course of action to take is integration without assimilation. Integration without

¹³Tom Wicker writes in the Introduction to the Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders (p. vii):

Conceivably the nation could continue its present failing efforts toward an integrated society, including the present proportion of its resources devoted to social and economic programs; or it could abandon integration as a goal and commit increased resources to "enrichment" of life in the ghetto--thus presumably making it bearable without producing violence against white society.

The first of these is hopeless; not only will it tend to produce more and more ghetto violence but it is an obvious fraud, in terms of its ability to produce anything like integration

The second course is rejected here with equal frankness, as simply another method of producing a permanently divided society.

assimilation is socially revisionistic. Beginning from a position of personally appreciating our personal ethnic heritage (which we alone bear the responsibility of educating ourselves in) and recognizing the foreign nature of the dominant culture and the paradigms that its News Media operates under, integration without assimilation adds one more facet to the heterogeneous nature of the dominant culture. Los Angeles Times editorial writer, Frank del Olmo urges Chicano activists:

Try to understand the inner workings of the media, and to cooperate with reporters and editors rather than criticizing them. I also advise against confrontational-style tactics, such as boycotts, which can be counterproductive.

If the news media are going to change, the most effective pressure for change will come from inside the profession, among journalists themselves, rather than from outside pressure groups. And the best way to make the news media more sensitive to minority groups is to have more Latinos and other minority people in the newsroom.¹⁴

This tactic is often criticized for being ineffective.

Salvador Valdez wrote a letter to the El Paso Times after a Mexican Independence Day demonstration in 1972:

The local papers have only a few Spanish surnames to add color to their staff. But these reporters are like worms inside holes who cannot come out because their heads are cut off by their racist editors. Therefore, they move ineffectively underground.¹⁵

¹⁴Frank del Olmo. "Changing World: Latinos and the media." Los Angeles Times. April 24, 1987. part II, p. 13.

¹⁵Lewels. p. 45.

But the fact of the matter is, with only 8% of those working within the ranks of profession journalism coming from minority communities (not mentioning how small the Chicano representation is) from a national population of 18%,¹⁶ the infiltration or integration without assimilation tactic has not been fully implemented. Granted, it is a very slow method with all of the limitations of working within a foreign framework. But this method is more realistic, having better long range benefits, in view of the fact that it reflects the kind of dialogue that must take place on a social/cultural level between the Anglo culture and the other ethnic cultures. In a society that calls itself Democratic, the rights must be balanced with the responsibilities between and within groups, or else we will always have the kind of divided society that sparked the Anger of 1967 riots.

¹⁶del Olmo. part II, p. 13.

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Oral Presentation (due by April 23)

1 LA Times (3/2/87): "Cheech's '55 Chevy Convertible Is on the Block in East LA"

1.1 Text (part 1)

by Gary Libman (Los Angeles Times, part V, p 1, March 2, 1987).=====

Jaime Martinez walked around and around the shiny 1955 Chevrolet, studying the coral and ivory convertible as if in disbelief.

"If they gave me the choice of a 1987 Porsche turbo or this one," the Inglewood engineering student finally said, "I'd take this one."

Martinez's opinion reflected the enthusiasm the 32-year-old car has generated since Latino entertainer Cheech ("Born in East L.A.") Marin donated it to Santa Marta Hospital in East Los Angeles several months ago.

Martinez saw the car in the Eagle rock Plaza shopping mall, where the hospital displayed it to sell \$2 tickets for a May 21 raffle. The hospital hopes to raise \$80,000 on the car to benefit a new early breast-cancer detection center. Thus

far, volunteers have sold \$5,000 in tickets.

Marin, 40, of the team of Cheech and Chong, lives in Malibu, but says donating the car made him feel at home in East Los Angeles for the first time.

Interviewed at his Sherman Oaks production company office, the comedian said that despite the title of his hit video and although his parents are of Mexican descent, he grew up in a predominantly black downtown Los Angeles neighborhood and moved at age 10 to a mixed area in Granada Hills.

"Only English was spoken in our house," he said. "My parents would speak Spanish with my grandparents when they didn't want me to understand."

Even after he drove the car through scenes on Soto Street and Whittier Boulevard in "Born in East L.A.," parodying Bruce Springsteen's "Born in the U.S.A.," Marin said he felt no relationship with East Los Angeles.

The feeling changed when he visited the 110-bed Santa Marta Hospital twice and appeared with the car at a park, a shopping center and a restaurant.

"It led me to get involved," said Marin, who recently

relearned Spanish and speaks in with his daughter, 7 and son,
1. "I know more about their problems and it's like coming home."

"There's a whole side of East Los Angeles that's never been portrayed. There's very settled family areas to raise your kids. There's gangs and drugs and everything, but those are everywhere . . .

1.2 Text (part 2)

"There should be a lot of pride in the community because it has as much history as any part of Los Angeles.

"I see these young people with kids and imagine my grandparents and how they were and it's a nice sense of continuity."

Many keepers of that continuity have been born at Santa Marta since it opened in tow houses in 1924 as a 10-bed maternity hospital. The current beige three-story building was built on the same site in 1970.

In the lobby, where La Opinion and Noticias del Mundo are sold at the front desk, most patients who come in are from

the surrounding neighborhood.

Marin seldom visited the neighborhood in previous years. He kept the Chevrolet, a gift from his former wife, in his two-car Malibu garage for 10 years, putting the top down occasionally to take his family for a drive along the coast.

"Seeing the car would make people happy," he said. "People used to give me the thumbs up sign. . . . Who wouldn't like to get one of them? With the top down, the radio going, it like California dreaming."

{SEA-SALT RUST}

When Marin's new wife, Patti, wanted to put her car in the garage, Marin worried that outside sea salt would rust his everyday 1985 Mercedes or the Chevrolet.

His wife suggested he donate the car to charity. Marin recalled a newspaper story he had read about Santa Marta and the hospital gladly accepted the car, which is worth between \$12,000 and \$15,000, according to Rick Cole Auctions in North Hollywood, a large seller of collector's autos.

On a recent visit to the hospital, Marin was mobbed by patients and staff, including the white-robed Catholic

Daughters of St. Joseph who run the hospital.

A mother of six asked Marin to talk to her teen-age son who used drugs. Although the comedian made several movies that treated drugs humorously, he advised the youth to avoid narcotics.

{ 'NEVER THAT STONED OUT' }

"Because I portrayed a stoned-out character doesn't mean that I am, and I never really was the stoned out," he said.

"Those (movies) were in order to show that there's a funny side, too, but I don't think there's a funny side anymore. The destructive side has been shown.

"There's a world of difference between hippies passing a joint and being able to cop crack in any city in the U.S."

The mother of the teen-ager was one of a horde of neighborhood volunteers who sold raffle tickets.

1.3 Text (part 3)

At the Eagle Rock Plaza, Martinez said he knew what he would do if he won the raffle.

"The first place I'd take this car is down Whittier Boulevard in East Los Angeles," he said. "It's a cruising car. As long as I can remember when I was small in the '60s, Whittier Boulevard was Los Angeles."

Martinez said he had watched Cheech and Chong since grade school.

"Cheech is all right," he said. "When I was growing up, they used to stereotype Mexicans like the Frito Bandito in commercials. At the same time I'd see Cheech and his "cholo" (neighborhood tough) image. I didn't mind at all. He was the only one I let sort of joke about our background. Everyone else (who portrayed a stereotype), I've got something (critical) to say."

2 ARTICLE OUTLINE

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 The Adored Automobile: A '55 Chevy over an '87 Turbo Porsche

2.1.2 The Event: Raffling the auto for Santa Marta Hospital in East L.A.

2.1.3 The Donor: Cheech Marin

2.1.3.1. Cheech and Chong

2.1.3.2. Not Raised in East L.A.

2.1.3.2.1. "Only English was Spoken in our house . . . "

2.1.3.2.2. "Born in East L.A." video

2.1.3.2.3. No personal relationship w/ East L.A. until Santa Marta

2.1.3.2.4. An unpublicized portrait of East L.A.

2.1.3.2.4.1. Family

2.1.3.2.4.2. Continuity

2.2 The Hospital: Part of the surrounding Mexican Community

2.3 The Car & The Hospital

2.3.1 A fun car that lost its parking spot

2.3.2 Santa Marta gains a car

2.4 Cheech & the Hospital

2.4.1 The reaction of the hospital to its visitor

2.4.2 Cheech's "Drug" Image & the "Real" picture

2.5 The Car, "Real L.A." & Cheech's "Cholo" Image

3 IDEAS

STEREOTYPICAL HEADLINE: "CHEECH'S CHEVY ON THE BLOCK IN EAST L.A. "

WHY THE BAD PRESS? ANGLO CULTURE CAN ONLY HAND THE

CHICANO IN TERMS OF CRISIS ("BIG TROUBLE IN LITTLE TJ") OR WITH A "ZOO" PORTRAYAL (ODD CULTURAL PRACTICES, CINCO DE MAYO, PINATA PARTIES, "OUR LITTLE MEXICAN FRIENDS TO THE SOUTH) (PER FELIX GUTIERREZ "LATINOS & THE MEDIA" +CRITICISM OF THE MASS MEDIA: THE MINORITY VIEWPOINT+.-----> IN A WAY THAT'S WHAT WE HAVE HERE: SKEWERING BARRIO VALUES - THE '55 CHEVY OVER A PORSCHE TURBO

SIGNIFICANT OBSERVATION:

#1 - "CHEECH" IS NOT THE "CHOLO" HE APPEARS TO BE PER HIS RECORDS AND MOVIES ----> THE CHICANO CULTURE IS NOT A MONOLITHIC PHENOMENON --- IS EXPRESSES THE HETEROGENEITY OF ANY VIBRANT, DYNAMIC CULTURE (PHYSIOLOGICAL OBSERVATION RE: THE "RACES"--- REGARDING "TRAITS" (COLOR OF EYES, SKIN TYPES, PHYSICAL STATURE, BLOOD TYPES, ETC.) THERE ARE MORE DIFFERENCES WITHIN A "RACIAL" GROUP THAN BETWEEN "RACIAL" GROUPS THAT MANY ANTHROPOLOGISTS ARE DROPPING THE "RACE" DESIGNATION).

#2 - VALUES WITHIN THE CHICANO COMMUNITY - FAMILY & CONTINUITY.

4 PRESENTATION OUTLINE: "THE CHICANO BEHIND THE IMAGE"

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4.1 INTRO: Headline Quotes

4.1.1 LA TIMES (3/30/87): Crime Placentia Barrio

4.1.2 PENTHOUSE (5/87): Mexico's Instability

4.1.3 TIME (7/8/85): Latino Gangs

4.1.4 NATURAL HISTORY (4/82): Low Riders

4.2 OPENING COMMENT: Gutierrez Quote

4.3 ANOTHER "ZOO" STORY?: "Cheech's '55 Chevy Convertible Is
on the Block in East LA"

4.3.1 Story Synopsis

4.3.2 Two Observations:

Chicano Heterogeneity

The Values of Family & Continuity (or Heritage)

4.4 CONCLUSION:

5 PRESENTATION TEXT: "THE CHICANO BEHIND THE IMAGE"

5.1 INTRO: Headline Quotes

These are some headlines or articles titles about the Chicano community that have been published in recent years.

5.1.1 LA TIMES (3/30/87): Crime Placentia Barrio

CRIME BREEDS DECAY IN A PLACENTIA BARRIO: Older Residents of Latino Santa Fe District Say New Immigrants Are Importing Violence (LA TIMES 3/30/87)

5.1.2 PENTHOUSE (5/87): Mexico's Instability

"THE MEXICAN TIME BOMB: Despite Reagan's Rhetoric about Communist subversion from Cuba and Nicaragua, the greatest threat to US security is the instability of our closest southern neighbor." (PENTHOUSE 5/87)

5.1.3 TIME (7/8/85): Latino Gangs

"'PARASITES ON THEIR OWN PEOPLE': Gangs Are Tougher, Better Armed and More Violent Than Ever." (TIME 7/8/85)

5.1.4 NATURAL HISTORY (4/82): Low Riders

LOW & SLOW, MEAN & CLEAN [LOW RIDERS] (NATURAL HISTORY, 4/82)

5.2 COMMENT: Gutierrez Quote

Felix Gutierrez writes in an article entitle "Latinos & the Mass Media": (+Criticism of the Mass Media: The Minority Viewpoint+, p. 166)

"Coverage of Latinos in Anglo media has increased with the population growth [of Latinos]. But news reporters still tend to place too much emphasis on stories featuring "problem people"---Latinos either causing or beset by problems, such as undocumented residents, youth gangs, or recent arrivals. Other stories often have a "zoo appeal" by featuring Latinos on national holidays, celebrating cultural fiestas, or in their native costumes. While more examples of accurate news reporting can be found now than in earlier periods, the media's preoccupation with "problem people" and "zoo stories" ignores many of the important daily happenings in the Latino

community."

5.3 TOPIC SENTENCE

I agree with Guteirrez, cursory reading of headlines points out the "Big Trouble in Little TJ or The Funny Customs of Our Little South-of-the-Border Neighbors" news media syndrome---- but every once in a while a story will slip through that says something about the Chicano behind the image (even if the title may indicate otherwise).

5.4 ANOTHER "ZOO" STORY?: "Cheech's '55 Chevy Convertible Is on the Block in East LA"

Although the title most definitely falls under the "Zoo Story" category, the observant reader might uncover more about the Chicano than the news media is prone to portraying.

5.4.1 Story Synopsis

On the surface the article is about a car and a hospital and how the two got together. The car is owned by Chicano Comedian, Cheech Marin and the hospital is Santa Marta Hospital in East Los Angeles. Briefly, Marin's '55 Chevy had

lost it's spot in the garage of his Malibu home (the spot was taken by "the wife's car"), said wife suggested the car be donated for charity, and from a newspaper story Marin discovers and then contacted the East Los Angeles hospital; the hospital is raffling off the car and hopes to raise \$80,000 for a new early breast-cancer detection center. Simple little story about a car and a hospital.

5.4.2 Two Observations:

There's more to this article than the bit about the car and the hospital. The article says something about the community and the people. From that standpoint I would like to make two observations:

Chicano Heterogeneity

First :

The article says something about CHICANO HETEROGENEITY. Oh, it doesn't use the words "CHICANO HETEROGENEITY," but in discussing the path that Cheech's life has taken it should be clear to the observant reader that all Chicanos are not the same. Cheech, for example, is nothing like his "Cholo" comic image. He was raised first in a downtown black neighborhood and then in a mixed neighborhood. His parents spoke Spanish only to each other and his grandparents when they didn't want

him to understand. CHICANO HETEROGENEITY. There's a person behind the image. Not all chicanos wear penaltos and bandanas and talk like someone is pulling on their upper lip. Right? CHICANO HETEROGENEITY.

EXCURSIS: Physiological Traits & "Races"

→ heterogeneity

As an aside: While Anthropologists busily spent the last century and the early part of this century dividing up humankind into "Races" it is now recognized that on the basis of physical traits (hair color, skin type, height, weight, etc.) that there are more differences within a "Racial" group than there are between "Racial" groups. So even physiologically, the idea that all people that belong to group "X" are alike is a bunch of bunk!

The Values of Family & Continuity (or Heritage)

The second observation has to do with the Chicano values of Family and Heritage. Cheech says at one point that he had no dealing with East LA (contrary to his own video, "Born In East LA") but after getting involved with the thing with the hospital and being around the neighborhood he says:

"There's a whole side of East Los Angeles that's never portrayed. There's very settle family areas to raise your

kids. There's gangs and drugs and everything, but those are everywhere . . ."

Referring to Heritage he says:

"I see these young people with kids and imagine my grandparents and how they were and it's a nice sense of continuity."

The barrio is not about drugs and gangs and violence. It's about Family and Heritage and Survival.

In a recent article in Rolling Stone magazine (3/26/87) the musical group, Los Lobos, spoke at length about "the neighborhood" & "family." I liked the article's title: "THE WORLD OF THEIR FATHERS: Drawing on their Mexican American heritage, Los Lobos make music that depicts the aspirations and longings of the Chicano community. They also play some pretty mean rock & roll."

The barrio is not about drugs and gangs and violence. It's about Family and Heritage and Survival.

5.5 CONCLUSION:

Yeah, for the most part Gutierrez is right. Daily we're treated to newspaper stories with headlines such as: "THIRD GRADERS SAID MEMBERS OF GANGS," "INSIDE THE MEXICAN MAFIA," or the inverse Disneyesque type story about the happy Chicano family making it in the US. But then every once in a while a story slips by some sleeping editor and we the readers catch a glimpse of the Chicano behind the Image.